

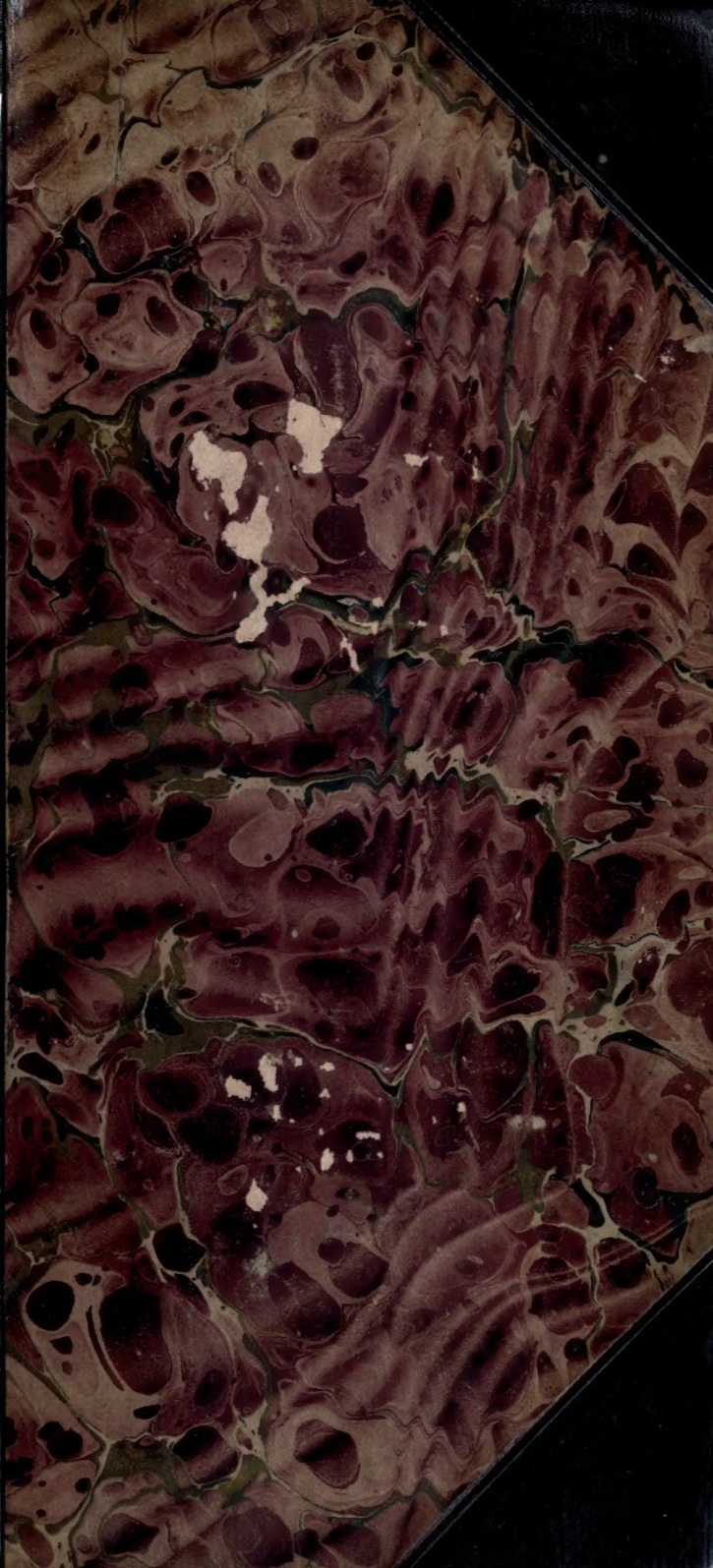
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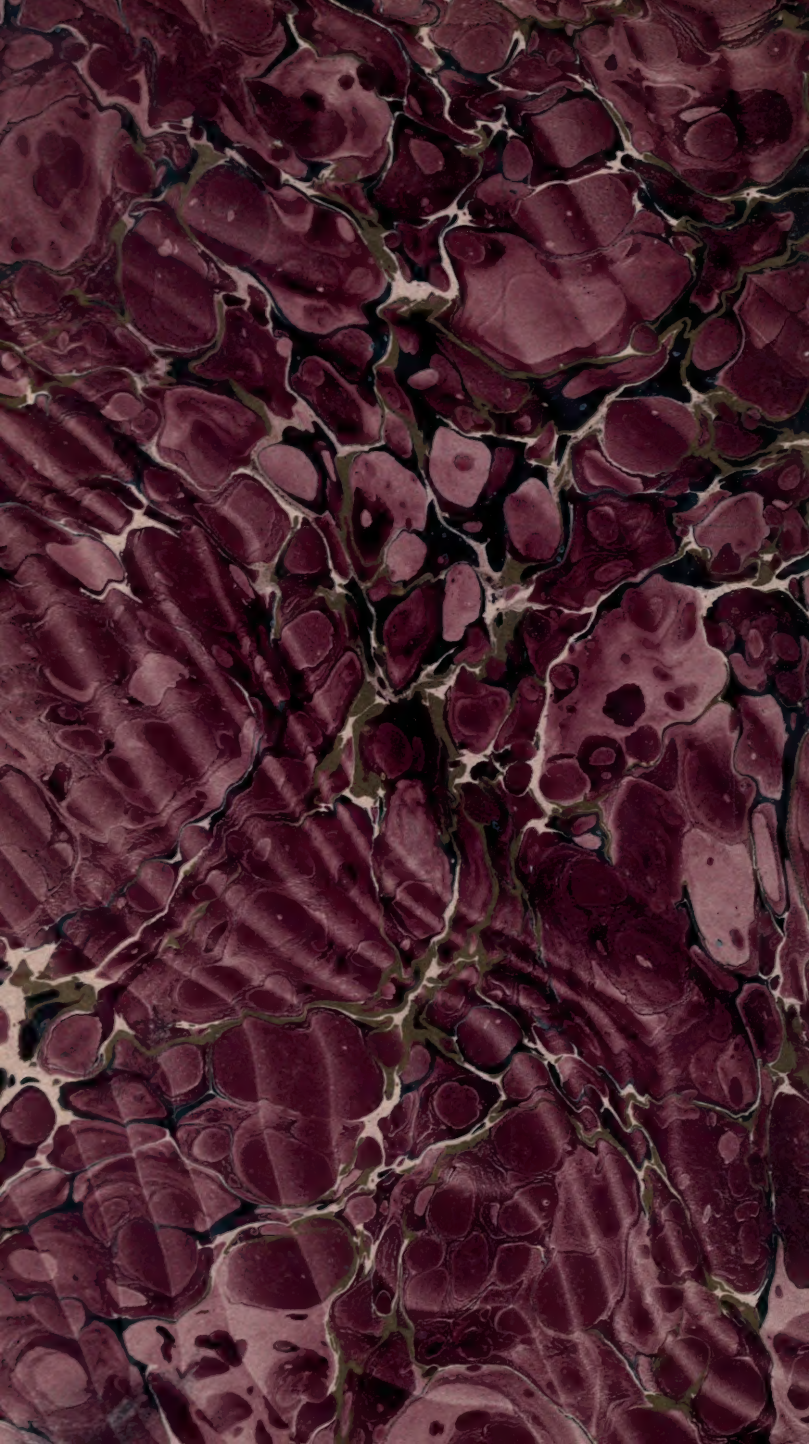
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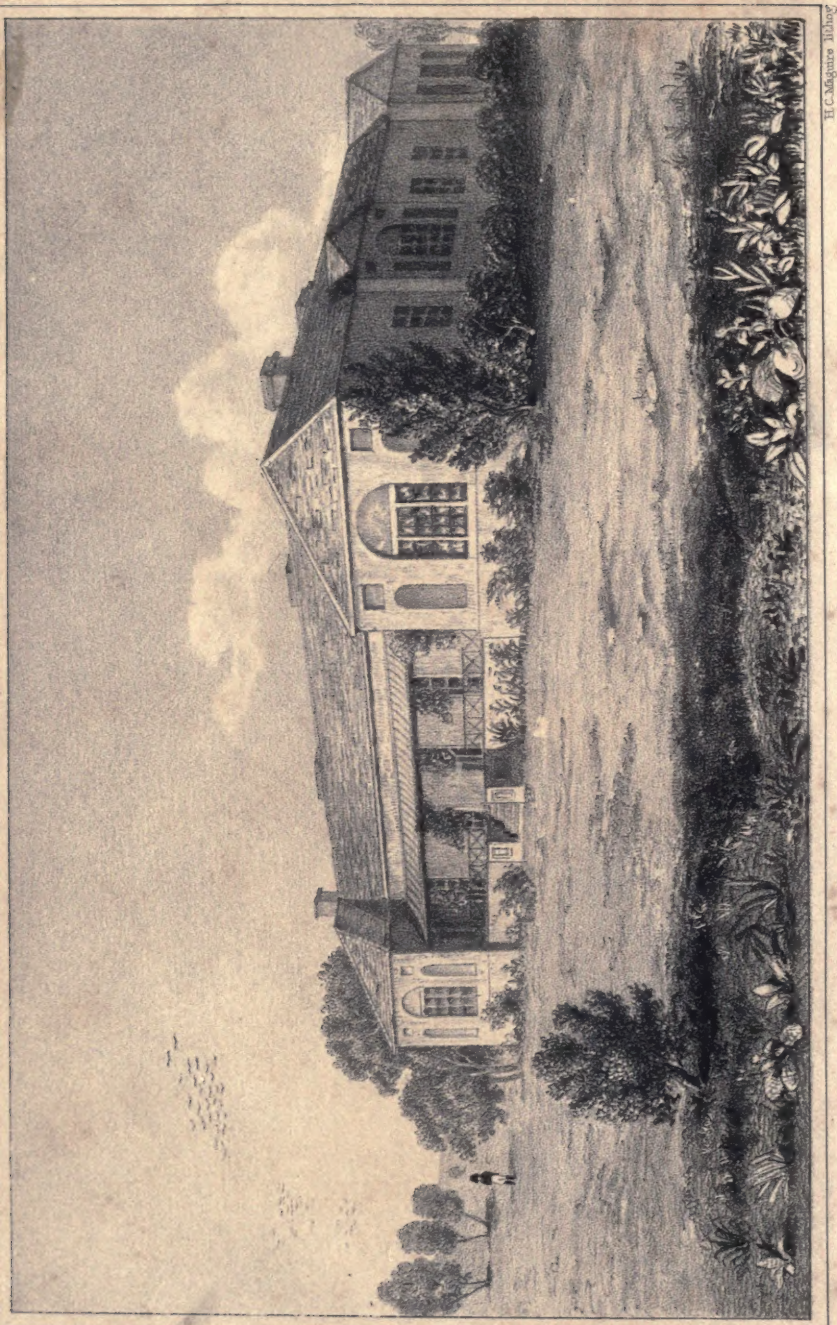
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HISTORY

OF THE

ISLAND OF ST. HELENA,

FROM

ITS DISCOVERY BY THE PORTUGUESE

TO

THE YEAR 1823.

DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION, TO THE HONOURABLE THE
COURT OF DIRECTORS FOR AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED
ENGLISH EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

By T. H. BROOKE, Esq.
FIRST MEMBER OF COUNCIL OF ST. HELENA.

SECOND EDITION.

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TO THE HONOURABLE

THE COURT OF DIRECTORS

FOR AFFAIRS OF THE

UNITED EAST-INDIA COMPANY,

THIS HISTORY

OF A SMALL, BUT IMPORTANT,

PART OF THEIR POSSESSIONS,

IS,

WITH THEIR PERMISSION, DEDICATED,

BY THEIR FAITHFUL,

AND DEVOTED SERVANT,

T. H. BROOKE.



P R E F A C E

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

IN the present state of philosophic inquiry, nothing that relates to the productions of nature, the progress of manners, or the conduct of human life, seems trivial or unimportant. The remotest and most minute portions of the globe are made the objects of political and scientific research: and if the magnitude of our commerce with India be considered of essential benefit to the nation, and the convenience and advantage St. Helena affords, in facilitating and giving security to our imports from the East, be well understood, an account of that island may have some claim to acceptance. Even as a singular phenomenon on the face of nature, its annals may not be unworthy of regard.

Among the numerous settlements and islands annexed to the British empire, St. Helena is certainly ancient in the date of its establishment ; yet no historical account of it has hitherto been attempted ; and to this deficiency, perhaps, may be attributed the idea of insignificance that has been attached to it, and the consequent indifference of the public with regard to its concerns. The descriptions of the island to be met with in various authors are partial and incomplete, the result only of transient observation ; and there is not extant any entire narrative, commencing from the first era of the settlement, and pursuing its progress to the present day. Many strangers, visiting the island on their return from India, have expressed a desire for further information than is to be found in the publications alluded to ; and this curiosity, together with the approbation of persons on whose judgment he relies, form part of the author's motives for obtruding the present attempt on the public.

The introductory chapter contains a descriptive sketch of the island and its productions.

The historical part commences with its discovery ; and, in the narration of occurrences posterior to that event, an account is given of the early laws and regulations of the settlement, their revisals and alterations, the various plans which have been suggested at different periods for improving the island and increasing its resources, together with their failure or success. The subject of the landed property, and the nature of the tenures, are also noticed ; and in the course of this detail the author has endeavoured to trace the progressive state of the island in general, from a solitary waste to an important colony.

This detail of his undertaking may, perhaps, also appear as a statement of the difficulties he had to encounter in the progress of his work ; but he has not the presumption to offer it as a plea to the public for an undue indulgence to his defects. A residence of fifteen years on the island has enabled him to obtain the local knowledge essential to his design ; and his appointment as public secretary has given him free access to the official records. Possessing such

sources of information, he has only to hope that the accuracy and truth of the circumstances which he records may compensate for defects in style or composition ; and should this attempt afford any useful or even satisfactory intelligence to those connected with the government of the island and friendly to its interests, the author's wishes will be gratified, and his principal object completely attained.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

To whatever degree of regard the Island of St. Helena was entitled, prior to its having become the abode of Napoleon Buonaparte, it has acquired, by that event, a new interest in the public mind. This, it is hoped, will be deemed a sufficient apology for putting forth a Second Edition of its history, comprising a continuation to the close of the year 1823, and some additional matter relating to earlier periods.



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HISTORY

OF THE

ISLAND OF ST. HELENA.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

THE island of St. Helena is situated in the sixteenth degree of south latitude, and the sixth of west longitude from Greenwich. It lies within the limit of the south-east trade-wind, and is distant four hundred leagues from the coast of Africa, the nearest continent. The extreme length of the island is ten miles and a half, its breadth six and three-quarters, its circumference about twenty-eight miles, and its surface, in acres, 30,300.

CHAP. I.
Introduction.

The island, when observed at sea, presents to the eye the appearance of an abrupt and rugged rock, divested of tree, shrub, or herbage. A nearer approach brings in view the central eminences, distinguished by a softer outline, clothed with verdure, and towering to the clouds. Ad-

CHAP. I.

Introduction.

vancing still nearer, the scene again changes, and the green summits are shut from sight by the intervening craggy and stupendous cliffs, that seem to overhang the sea. Their great elevation excites in the mind of a stranger an idea of being too near the land; whilst the seaman, acquainted with the coast, proceeds safely to the anchorage which may be within a cable's length of the shore: and in his progress, the exterior aspect of the island, and the disposition of its batteries and military works, impress an opinion of defensive strength. On rounding Munden's Point the eye is suddenly relieved by a view of the town, seated in a narrow valley between two lofty mountains; and the interspersion of trees among the white houses has an effect picturesque and pleasing in a high degree. This valley, known by the name of James's Valley, is on the N.W. and leeward side of the island, in which situation there is good anchorage from eight to twenty-five fathoms; and fresh water is conveyed in leaden pipes to the wharf, from a spring at two miles distance, which affords a plentiful supply.

Malham, in his Naval Gazetteer, states "the
" greatest rise and fall of water, at the time of
" new and full moon, to be thirty-nine inches,
" and that it does not sensibly differ for the

“ space of twenty minutes at the time of high
“ and low water.” But Captain Leigh, of the
honourable Company’s ship Georgiana, who has
been long on the St. Helena station, and, of
course, has had many opportunities of forming an
accurate judgment, has observed the rise some-
times to exceed five feet. The variation of the
compass, in 1768, was $12^{\circ} 47'$ west; and, in
1796, was $15^{\circ} 47' 30''$. The surf, at times, is
tremendous, particularly about Christmas, and
many lives were lost in approaching and leaving
the shore, until a new wharf and landing-place
were constructed by Governor Brooke.

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—
Introduc-
tion.

Upon landing, and passing the draw-bridge, the way leads between a line of heavy guns and a double row of trees, of a lively green, generally in full leaf, being a species of the banian of India, and named in Bengal the peepel tree. The town is entered by an arched gateway, under a rampart, or terrace, forming one side of a parade about two hundred feet square. This parade has been lately much improved by the removal of some mean buildings on the right. On the left side are the Government-house, sessions-house, principal public offices, and a library; the first is enclosed with a wall, having the semblance of embrasures, and is called the Castle. It contains the Governor’s habitation, and the offices of

CHAP. I. government. The church, fronting the gateway,
Introduction. is a neat, and not inelegant edifice. The principal street commences between it and a pallisade enclosing the Company's garden. It consists of twenty-eight houses, most of them neat and well constructed, and divides into two other streets; one on the east, leading to that side of the country; the other proceeding to the upper part of the valley, where are situated the barracks, the new garden, and the hospital. In this street there are a number of shops, well stored with European and Indian commodities; but the houses in general are inferior to those in the lower part of the town, where the principal inhabitants reside.

The two hills, or ridges, between which the town is situated, are Rupert's on the east, and Ladder Hill on the west.

The roads by which access is gained into the interior, are formed on the sides of these hills, and the ascent is so easy and safe, that carts and oxen pass along without danger or difficulty. For the first mile or two, the traveller observes little else than nakedness and sterility; but his curiosity is soon gratified by the sudden prospect of verdure, woody heights, neat dwellings, and cultivated plantations.

The island is unequally divided by a lofty chain, or ridge of hills, running nearly east and west in a curved direction, and bending to the south at each extremity. From this chain alternate ridges and valleys branch off in various directions, but chiefly north and south. Diana's Peak, towards the east end of this chain, is the highest point of the island, and rises nearly 2,700 feet above the level of the sea. From the summit of this peak no point intercepts the horizon; the whole island is beneath the scope of vision; the ridges and hollows diverging from the chain are traced to the sea. Houses and plantations diversify the prospect, and the contrast of verdant and naked mountains forcibly strikes the attention, and renders the scene at once novel, picturesque, and majestic.*

* Major Rennell, who ascertained the altitudes of the most remarkable eminences, states them to be as follow:

Cuckold's Point.....2,672 feet

Halley's Mount.....2,467

These and Diana's Peak form a part of the same ridge, and are frequently enveloped in clouds:

Flag-staff 2,272

The Barn..... 2,015

Overhanging the sea:

Alarm-House..... 1,960

Centrically situated:

High Knoll..... 1,903

To the southward of Ladder Hill:

Long-Wood House... 1,762.

CHAP. I. The summits and sides of most of the interior
Introduc- heights are wooded with the cabbage-tree of the
tion. island, the red-wood, string-wood, dog-wood,
and other indigenous trees and shrubs; and in
situations less elevated, the gum-wood was for-
merly to be found in great abundance; but at
present few trees of this kind are left standing,
except at Long-Wood, where they have been
protected by the injunctions of the Company,
and cover unequally a surface of nearly 1500
acres.

Clear and wholesome springs issue from the
sides of almost every hill; but as they have nei-
ther volume nor sufficient length of current,
they form only inconsiderable rills. From this
circumstance it happens that in a country so
calculated to produce picturesque cascades,
there are no falls of water of any magnitude.
One stream projects its whole quantity from a
height of 260 feet perpendicular, but becomes
a shower before it reaches the cavity below:
when, indeed, it is swollen by torrents, it des-
cends in a continuous column, but its effect and
beauty are in that case tarnished by the mud
involved in its mass.

It is somewhat remarkable, that whilst many
of these springs and rills abate considerably, or

are entirely dried up, after any long intermission of rain, a few remain undiminished. There are, in particular, two streams, one in Fisher's Valley, and the other at the Briars, which are thought to be enlarged in size during a continuance of dry weather, and at such times seem to glide with increased velocity, transparent and pure. This circumstance, if the volume of the streams really be increased, is irreconcilable to the common hypothesis, that all springs are supplied from the clouds. But there is a possibility, that, at a season of severe drought, when the other springs are much diminished, or totally dried up, there may be some deception in the appearance of a current, which, continuing the same, may seem to be increased. The fact should be established by actual measurement, before a new system be founded upon it. The other springs, on elevated situations, are obviously supplied by the rains, or the clouds, which are so constantly in contact with the summit of the hills, where moisture is so abundant and the springs are numerous. In lower situations, some of the springs, which are also dependent upon the fall of rain, are not so immediately affected from this cause, but require a considerable time to manifest their abundance. This is remarkable of a spring at the Governor's country

CHAP. I. residence, which supplies the High Knoll aqueduct. The heaviest fall of rain does not affect it till after the lapse of weeks, when it shews the recruit of water that it has received ; and it continues to supply a plenteous stream much longer than many other springs. Possibly this may be the case, in a greater degree, with springs which are in a still lower situation ; but if the quantity of water that issues from the springs at the Briars and in Fisher's Valley be actually increased in the time of severe drought, the extraordinary supply must be accounted for upon different principles.*

Introduc-
tion.

* The author has been favoured with the following remarks by a friend :—

It seems unreasonable to deny that Nature may have immense subterraneous reservoirs, or to refuse her the power of fabricating water in the bowels of the earth. Chemistry instructs us it can be done on the surface, and, it is highly probable, much better below. We know that many lakes of magnitude send forth perpetual rivers, but we do not impute the capacity of affording them, or the undiminished quantity of the lake itself, either to rain or snow ; its constant plentitude must arise from its communication with waters below its bed that have no connexion with those which come from above. We know that the absorption from the surface, after the longest rains, does not proceed deeper than sixteen inches ; we know, from an experiment of common superficial earth put to the thickness of ten feet into an appropriate receptacle

It would be difficult, perhaps, in any country, to meet with a more uncommon and romantic

CHAP. I.
Introduction.

ceptacle, that after an exposure of eight years to the whole rain that fell, no part of it passed through it; and the inhabitants of St. Helena know, that *common** earth, made into mortar, is a dry, defensive covering to houses, whilst the coating is not actually broken or injured by the weight or force of the showers. How, then, is the rain to arrive at the first latent source of a great river? Admitting it to pass through the mould at the surface, it must soon come to strata of clay, or impervious stone; these are impassable to water from above; but cut through them, and you find original water below that has never communicated with the clouds. Besides, it is computed that the whole depth of fall through England, in one year, does not, in the wettest seasons, exceed forty inches; and this whole aggregate quantity does not appear equal to supply all the rivers of England, in their ordinary fulness and speed of course, for more than three or four months together. We may distinguish, then, as is done by geologists with their mountains, and call those rivers primeval, that have their native issues from the recluse caverns of the earth; those secondary, that are fed by the melting of transient or primordial snows; and those temporary, that depend on the contingencies of Heaven.

It may be asked, what is the natural reason of the increased bulk of the streams in Fisher's Valley and at the Briars? Is it that the drought, making the ground more porous

* In the eighth chapter, where the roofing of the houses in James's Valley is mentioned, the earth employed for this purpose, taken from the sides of the valley, is certainly not *common earth*, but mixed with a portion of volcanic ashes, to which this property is imputed. The clay-soil in the interior of the island does not possess the same property of resisting the rain.

CHAP. I. prospect than Sandy Bay, when seen from parts
 of the main ridge. Though in general a bird's-
 eye view lies before the spectator, hills rise above
 him to an elevation much greater than the spot
 on which he stands. Those on the left, richly
 clothed with trees to the very summits, display
 a wonderful contrast to the wild and grotesque
 nakedness that triumphs on the right, where
 shelving cliffs, surmounted by huge perpendicu-
 lar or spiral masses of rock, are multiplied under
 every shape and aspect. The downward view
 consists of a variety of ridges, eminences, and
 ravines, converging towards the sea, into one
 common valley. Among this scenery are inter-
 spersed the dwellings of planters, the different
 forms of gardens and plantations, and the pas-
 turing of cattle ; the prospect closing with the
 distant sea, rushing in between two black craggy
 cliffs, which the surf whitens with its spray.
 The infinite diversity of tint that overspreads the
 whole of this extraordinary picture, the majesty
 of one part, the reposing beauty of another, and

rous, and thence rendering it less weighty and compact, the
 resistance to the escape of its water from the fountain-head is
 diminished, and its passage outward made more pervious and
 easy? But it is better to assign no reasons for phenomena
 than to assign weak ones ; better to avoid the frailty of hy-
 pothesis, and better to remain in contented ignorance, than
 suffer the mind to rest on shallow, insufficient explanation.

the horror of a third, cannot fail to delight and astonish every observer of nature.

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Introduction.

The Governor's country residence, which lies about three miles from the town, is called the Plantation-House, and is a well-built, handsome edifice, erected in the years 1791 and 1792. Art has been combined with nature to render this, in the opinion of many, the most beautiful spot on the island. Here a considerable fund of amusement is afforded to the botanist. Not only the indigenous productions of the island, but plants and trees from distant and opposite climes have been introduced within the inclosure. The mimosa of New South Wales, the pine of the North, and the bamboo of India, seem to outvie each other in the luxuriance of their growth.

Thunder, lightning, or storms, rarely disturb the serenity of this mild atmosphere, in which so small a portion of electric fluid is supposed to exist, that it was imagined a machine for collecting it would be useless; but experiment has exposed the error of this supposition.

In James's Town, the thermometer, in the shade, seldom rises above eighty degrees; but the reflected heat from the sides of the valley, when

CHAP. I.
—
Introduc-
tion.

there is little wind, and the sky is clear, resembles that of India. In the country the temperature is much more moderate and uniform. Sir Joseph Banks, on being furnished with a professional report from the Company's botanist at St. Helena, made the following observations upon it.

“ From this abstract it appears, that the summer, in that elevated situation (the Plantation-House), is not so hot as in England, seventy-two degrees being the highest point at which the thermometer was observed in 1788, while seventy-six degrees is marked as the point of our summer-heat. The winter is also much milder than ours, ranging between the fifty-fifth and fifty-sixth degrees of Fahrenheit's scale ; a temperature in which the vegetation of leaves proceeds with more equability, perhaps, than any other.

“ The rain is divided more after the manner of our temperate climates than of the tropical ones ; every month has its share : and July, August, and September seem to be the stormy seasons there, with more rainy days in February than in either of those months. Cloudy days also exceed in number, almost two to one, those in which the rays of the sun

“ fall upon the earth without interruption, and
“ scorch the vegetation. This is particularly
“ suited to pasture and trees, but not to the
“ ripening of European fruits. The timber
“ which grows on the upper part of Madeira
“ would answer here.”

CHAP. I.

Introduction.

Iron ore is said to be found in some parts of the island, but any idea of its fusion is precluded by the scarcity of fuel. Appearances also of gold and copper ore have been discovered. In Turk's-cap Bay there exist veins of a stone which takes a beautiful polish, and some of it will bear cutting for seals.

Excellent lime, mostly composed of a concretion of sand and shells, is found in several parts of the island, but from the difficulty of access, without the expense of cutting roads upon the sides of steep declivities, two kilns only are used, the one at Sandy-Bay the other near Sugar-Loaf. It is brought from both places, by water, to James's Town. The cement used in ordinary buildings is mud.

In several parts of the island are found strata of a red colour containing a large mixture of salt: a few hours boiling separates the latter from the dirt. Filtrations through these beds may per-

CHAP. I. haps account for the number of brackish springs
to be met with, but some, that are commonly said
to possess that quality, are supposed to derive this
peculiar taste from other causes. One near Long-
Wood is found to contain a considerable quantity
of sulphate of magnesia, has been noticed to be
something warmer than the surrounding atmo-
sphere, and operates as a cathartic. It is said to
resemble the Bristol hot-wells in taste.

Introduc-
tion.

The sub-soil throughout the island is clay; but this is of various sorts. One has been sometimes called marl, but it does not effervesce upon the application of acids. When divested of its superincumbent earth, it has often the appearance of stone, but on exposure to the atmosphere soon moulders. It is frequently used as a substitute for gravel upon roads, and does not clog like clay in general, but is slippery in wet weather. Sand or gravel are rarely to be met with, except on the shores. Such parts contiguous to the coast as are not entirely rock, have a thin covering of loose friable earth which, with the aid of water, would be productive, and is particularly so in the valleys. The soil upon the summits and steep sides of the interior hills is rich, though light and of no great depth. The surface-covering of the rest of the island is various; from soil as light as

dust, to heavy black clay; but in general the lands that lie intermediately between the interior heights and the barren outskirts, consist of a fine loamy soil, from four inches to three feet deep, upon a stratum of good yellow or red clay.

Of the vegetable productions indigenous to St. Helena, there are more than a stranger on a cursory view would suppose. The trees are chiefly evergreens, and, in general, of a slow growth and hard-wood. Those which abound most in the interior heights are locally called the he, she, and bastard or black cabbage-tree, and the white-wood, which is also of the same tribe; they differ materially from the cabbage-tree of Juan Fernandez, as described in Anson's Voyage. In the roofs of the old buildings on the island we find scarcely any other than cabbage-tree wood applied as rafters. As ground joists also it is esteemed for its durability.

The flowers of the he cabbage-tree (*Solidago cuneifolia*) grow in upright bunches like a cauliflower: those of the she (*Mikania arborea*) hang down loosely, and are of a greenish hue; the young stalks and branches are purple, but become pale with age. Both kinds have a large oval leaf, have straight stems in general, and thick branches. The black cabbage-tree (*Soli-*

CHAP. I. *Integrofolia*) has a picturesque appearance ;
Introduction. its branches are crooked and its leaves resemble the laurel. Like the *Solidago cuneifolia*, it throws out large branches of daisy-like flowers, whitish with a tinge of purple. The white-wood (*Bidens arborea*) is easily known by the peculiarity of its having its leaves placed opposite and its branches alternately on the stems. It is found sometimes growing from the sides of almost perpendicular mountains, its stem twisting and assuming forms the most grotesque.

The dog-wood (*Hedyotis arborea*) grows to the height of from ten to fifteen feet, is a hard solid wood, has a dark green smooth leaf, oval and pointed, with white blossoms in little round bunches. The string-wood (*Acalypha rubra*) has become very scarce ; the few at present to be found are not more than six or seven feet high ; the young branches are of a beautiful coral colour, their leaves pale green and smooth, and their flowers, which are of a flesh colour, hang down in strings, whence the name of the tree. A great variety of curious ferns are likewise to be met with in the interior woody heights, the most remarkable of which is the *tree fern* (*Dicksonia arborescens*) rising sometimes to fifteen or twenty feet high, and in appearance resembling the palm.

The red-wood (*Dombeya erythroxylon*) is a beautiful spreading tree, rising to the height of about thirty feet or more, with large pendant blossoms of the bell kind, white and red. It is valuable for building, but its bark having become obnoxious to the attacks of a small white insect, there are not many of these trees remaining. Of the same genus is the dwarf ebony (*Dombeya melanoxylon*), but this low shrub appears quite of a different description from the black heavy wood called in the records *ebony*, of which at present there remain only dead stumps. The box-wood, so called from its similarity in grain and colour to box, is a shrub of four or five feet high, very branchy and brittle, with small leaves, and bears a white blossom : it exhales a strong smell, and grows in almost the driest and hottest parts of the island.

In some of the most rocky and barren spots, as well as in other situations, grows a very bushy tree with small pale green leaves, called the wild rosemary (*Phylica rosmarinifolia*): nothing will flourish under its shade. The wild olive (*Phylica elliptica*) is of the same genus as the wild rosemary ; it bears a small dry berry, but neither of them answer the description of the rosemary and olive of other countries. An astringent shrub, called the St. Helena tea (*Beat-*

CHAP. I. *sonia portulacifolia*), is to be seen on the sides of rocky and often inaccessible heights; it bears a little white blossom, and has been used with success for tanning.

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Amongst the trees found in parts not very elevated are the gum-wood, or white cedar, as it has been sometimes called, of which there are three kinds, the common (*Conyza gummi-fera*), the bastard (*Conyza robusta*), and the dwarf gum-wood (*Aster glutinosus*). The last is generally called the shrub, or scrub-wood: it seldom attains a greater height than three feet; but some of the old inhabitants remember to have seen it much higher. This, as well as the first-mentioned species, bears a blossom somewhat resembling the daisy in Europe. The common gum-wood, when it arrives at maturity, has a tolerably straight stem, about twenty or thirty feet high, and spreads its branches and leaves like an umbrella. The bastard kind has less of this peculiarity, and its leaves are smoother, and of a deeper tint, and do not possess the gummy texture so perceptible in the other two sorts. Its blossoms are in small bunches. From the trunks of all three an aromatic gum exudes, which renders the wood extremely pleasant when used as fuel. A liquid of a sweet flavour, which the natives call *toddy*, issues spontaneously from the

trunk of the common and bastard gum-wood. It is obtained by means of a bottle on the tree, so placed as to catch the natural exudation, which fills in the course of a night. The gum-wood, as well as several amongst about sixty other trees and shrubs indigenous to St. Helena, are said by experienced botanists to be peculiar to the island.

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The constant moisture which prevails on Diana's Peak and other woody eminences in its vicinity, seems to favour the theory that trees have an attractive influence on the clouds. That in woody countries there exists a greater degree of humidity than in places divested of that clothing, is a fact which experience has placed beyond all doubt. But it is a circumstance which may be remarked, that in no part of St. Helena are trees so numerous as at Long-Wood, and yet few situations on the island are so little benefited by rain: whilst a barren eminence, not above two miles distant from it, is deluged with torrents. During the twelve years that Lieutenant-Governor Robson had his official residence at Long-Wood, it was his constant complaint, that, when flattered by hopes of deriving benefit from clouds, which he saw rise to windward and approach towards his grounds, his expectations were disappointed by a change

CHAP. I. in their direction towards the higher grounds,
Introduction. whether wooded or barren.

The clouds, floating at a certain height in the atmosphere, yield humidity to the higher parts of the island without discharging any moisture on the low lands, where, after a long continuance of drought, the roots of grass, &c., perish. The earth, in consequence, loses its adhesion, and when a heavy fall of rain occurs, it is washed from the declivities, which are thus divested of the means of vegetation, and either deepen into gullies, or stand in the form of prominences, where the texture is sufficiently hard to resist the effects of the rain; which seems to be the natural history of all the barren ridges that in fantastic figures terminate abruptly at the sea, and form the exterior of the island.

From these causes the luxuriance of vegetation increases in proportion to distance and height from the sea; and upon the very summits of the interior hills oxen are to be seen up to their knees in grass; and the process of digestion being forwarded by the repose which the animal enjoys from the general diffusion of springs in those situations, the upper lands are, on every account, regarded as the prime pastures of the island; whereas the ridges and ravines, which

diverge towards the sea from the central eminences, have their verdure and their water distinct. The native wire-grass may cover the ridge, while the water from the central springs seeks the bottom of the valleys. The nourishment which ought to be combined is thus separated ; and the animal must toil in descending for the one or re-ascending for the other, to have the process of nature in the generation of nourishment fulfilled. In severe droughts, the cattle have died by the side of the water, unable to regain the scanty pittance of grass which the ridge might afford.

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Fruits, particularly vines, figs, oranges, and lemons, ripen best in the valleys near the sea ; which are also well adapted to the growth of plantains and bananas ; all these fruits requiring a great degree of heat, and the enriched soil and shelter of the valleys. From a garden more interior, but finely watered and sheltered, of no greater extent than three acres of ground, twenty-four thousand dozen apples, of a large size, were gathered in one season, besides peaches, guavas, grapes, and figs, in abundance. Cherries have been tried, but without success. Gooseberry and currant bushes turn to evergreens, and do not bear fruit. The island, however, is not to

CHAP. I. be considered as possessing a general fertility.

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tion.

The greater part of it is a barren, reluctant waste. Even in the best cultivated and richest spots, that often make abundant returns, the expectations of the gardener are frequently disappointed; and, from occasional causes in the earth or the atmosphere, his labour is defeated, and his crops often fail.

Shortly after the establishment of the colony, a species of yam was introduced from Madagascar. It is cultivated in the valleys, and requires a constant soak of water, for fifteen months, to bring it to perfection. In its raw state, it has an acid, and almost a caustic quality; but after several hours boiling, it becomes a wholesome and nourishing food, and for many years formed the chief sustenance for the slaves, and was advantageously applied to the rearing of hogs and poultry. But as a continued repetition of the same crop, with little or no manure, could not fail in the course of time to exhaust the soil, the greater proportion of the yam plantations have been thrown into pasture; and other grounds enclosed for the culture of potatoes, which found a ready sale to shipping, the latter frequently obtaining them by barter for grain. Cabbages, peas, beans, and

other culinary vegetables, are raised in abundance. Myrtle, in some situations, attains to the height of twenty feet.

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The sort of grass that prevails in the higher parts is the English vernal grass; and in the low lands, the wire-grass, or doop (*Agrostis stellata*), which is extremely sweet and nutritious, and suffers less from dry and hot weather than any other sort; but it has been supplanted, to the injury of many pastures, by a coarse herb, called cow-grass, originally from the Cape of Good Hope, which is now extremely common. Lucerne is found to succeed in some situations; and if it were more generally cultivated, it would prove exceedingly advantageous. The exterior crust of the island, near the sea, produces, spontaneously, a shrub, to which the natives give the name of samphire; but it is probably the barilla, as its ashes yield a large quantity of marine alkali, with which a good soap has been manufactured.

The breed of cattle and sheep on the island is originally English: the beef is of an excellent quality. Rabbits abound in some situations; pheasants and partridges are become numerous, since the government has given them protection; and every garden is enlivened

CHAP. I. by the notes of the canary-bird. Guinea-fowl,
Introduction. with which the island was once well stocked, are
now seldom to be seen, except in a domesticated
state.

There are neither frogs, toads, nor snakes, in the island ; and although some of the latter have at times concealed themselves in bales or packages from India, yet they have never survived their landing at St. Helena longer than a few hours. In the valleys near the sea, scorpions and centipedes are found, but their sting, though painful, is not dangerous. Bees have at different times been brought to the island, but they have invariably disappeared again, probably carried off to sea by strong winds.

In the year 1727, the place was visited, for a short time, by several birds of a different kind from any that had ever been seen on it, before or since. They are described in the records, as having “ bodies as large as a pheasant, their
“ legs long and black, but their claws open,
“ and not webbed like water-fowl, with long
“ bills, resembling those of a snipe, but thicker
“ and longer in proportion to the bulk of their
“ bodies.”—This quotation, as well as the following from the records of 1723, is inserted for

the conjectures of those versed in natural history: "Some large fish, supposed to be what is called the sun-fish, got foul of the boat's moorings, and pulled her under water, and two of our garrison, out of three that were in her, were drowned."

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tion.

Of fish it has been computed that seventy-six species frequent the coast. Those most commonly taken and used, are mackarel, albecore, cavalloes, jacks, congers, soldiers, old-wives, and bull's-eyes; and of shell-fish, long-legs and stumps. The two last resemble the lobster in taste and colour, and have the same kind of tail. Rock-oysters are found in some situations hardly distinguishable from the rock, forming a solid congeries, which may be separated into distinct fish. The coal-fish, so called from the black hue of its skin, is from two to three feet in length, and very thick about the neck; it is singularly high flavoured and delicate, and not unlike a salmon in taste; but so scarce, that seldom more than six or eight are caught in a year. The flying-fish about the shores of St. Helena, when pursued by porpoises, sharks, or other rapacious enemies, often meet death in a different element by dropping on the rocks. Some of them have been picked up in this situation which measured more than two feet in length,

CHAP. I. a size to which they are supposed seldom to at-
tain in other parts of the world. Whales
are frequently seen, and have, in a few instances,
been killed by South-Sea whalers in the Roads.
Between the months of December and March
turtle frequent the island, and are often taken
by the fishing-boats. A few instances are
known of cod-fish having been caught to
leeward of the island, in about one hundred and
ten or one hundred and twenty fathoms.

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tion.

The general mode of fishing practised here
is by hook and line ; mostly from small open
boats, moored either near to the shore, or upon
the banks and ledges variously situated around
the coast. The most productive of these
banks is called New Ledge, the centre part of
which lies about two miles and three-quarters
to the S.S.W. of the island. It is composed of
rocks and sand, and its soundings are from
forty to fifty fathoms. It is only in the finest
weather that boats can lay there, and they are
obliged, on the least appearance of wind, to cut
from their moorings and run in with the utmost
expedition. About three-quarters of a mile
nearer to the shore is Speerie Ledge, on which
there are four fathoms, and here the sea at
times breaks with great violence. Barn Ledge
lays about one mile off Turk's-Cap ; its sound-

ings run from four to twelve fathoms, and the sea breaks upon it when there is much wind. The principal bank, known to leeward, is called Goodwin's Ledge; it is about a mile distant from the land, with soundings from forty-three to fifty-eight fathoms.

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tion.

The shores and neighbourhood of the island abound in sea-fowl, which deposit their eggs in the cliffs and detached rocks around the coast. Their haunts, covered with white dung, exhibit a fantastic appearance upon an insulated rock, called Shore Island, being sometimes mistaken for a ship under sail. Their eggs are collected in the months of October and November, and in flavour somewhat resemble those of a plover. One species of these fowl, however, prefer making their nests in the woody, central eminences of the island, and are often seen flying across the country with a fish in their beaks.

Upon an average of five years, viz., from 1801 to 1805 inclusive, one hundred and sixty-five ships touched annually at St. Helena;* and in war time, the long detention for convoy experienced by large fleets, (the crews and

* In 1823, the number of ships that anchored in the road was one hundred and ninety-three.

CHAP. I. passengers of which are frequently equal to
 Introduc- the whole population of the island), occa-
 tion. sions such an extra consumption of stock and
 refreshments, that the mere productions of the
 island itself have never been adequate to such
 exigencies; and salt meat from England and rice
 from Bengal, as they are cheaper than fresh pro-
 visions, constitute the principal food of the in-
 habitants and garrison. Salt meat was long
 issued to them from the Company's stores, under
 prime cost,* and every other European article
 at only ten per cent. advance, including freight.
 In 1805 the price of beef was raised from
 four-pence half-penny to six-pence half-penny
 per pound alive; and, as it was principally
 destined for the King's or the Company's
 shipping, no person could kill even his own ox
 without permission from the Governor. This
 restriction has however been taken off.

The following were the market prices in the
 under-mentioned years:—

	1805.	1823.
Bullocks, per lb., alive ..	6½d	5½d.
Beef, per carcase, per lb.	1s 2d.	1s.
Do. prime joints		1s. 2d.
Do. inferior do		11d.
Mutton, per lb.	1s. 2d. to 1s. 6d..	1s. 1d. to 1s. 4d.

* This rule is now abolished.

	1805.	1823.	CHAP. I.
Lamb, per quarter	10s.	5s. to 10s.	Introduction.
Pork, per lb.	1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d.	1s. to 1s. 3d.	
Pigs, per lb., alive	1s.	10d.	
Grown Fowls	9s. to 12s.	2s. 6d. to 5s.	
Turkeys.	30s. to 40s.	15s. to 25s.	
Geese	25s. to 30s.	12s. to 18s.	
Ducks.	10s. to 12s.	5s. to 8s.	
Eggs, per dozen	5s.	2s. 6d. to 5s.	
Milk, per quart.	4d. to 6d.		
Potatoes, per bush. of 56 lb	8s. to 10s.	6s. to 8s.	
Hay, per cwt.	12s. 6d.	8s. to 10s. 6d.	
Green corn, fodder, per cwt.		7s.	
Pumpions, each	3s. to 5s.	1s. to 2s.	
Cabbage, per head	2s. to 2s. 6d.	4d. to 1s.	
Cauliflowers, each.		1s. to 1s. 8d.	
Lemons, per dozen.	1s.	6d. to 1s.	
Bananas, per bunch.	5s.	3s. to 6s.	
Melons, grapes, apples, pears, guavas, pomegranates, peaches, rose-apples, lognots, figs, and other fruits according to season.			

Fish.

Mackerel, per dozen	8d.	8d.
Albicore, per lb.	2d.	2d.
Baracoota, dolphins, and bonito, per lb.	2d.	} according to season.
Turtle and coal-fish, per lb.	8d.	
Congor, conger-eels, ca- valloes, silver-fish, and old-wives, per lb.	3d.	
Stumps and soldiers, each	2d.	
Long-legs, each.	6d.	

Shortly after the first settlement of St. Helena, the Company were anxious that experiments

CHAP. I. should be made to ascertain its resources and capability. Indigo, cotton, sugar-canes, and vines, were introduced ; and rum, sugar, wine, and brandy, were brought to some degree of perfection ; but the intrinsic value of St. Helena consisting in its local situation, as a place of refreshment and rendezvous for the homeward-bound ships from India, attention has been chiefly confined to the objects which most conduced to that important purpose. On this ground, even the cultivation of corn* has been deemed of less consequence than that every acre should be appropriated to raising live-stock, roots, and culinary vegetables. As the island, on this account, cannot be devoted to commercial produce, its profits or revenues must consequently be very small, and its annual expense to the proprietors considerable. The returns which it makes for this expenditure apply to the accommodation and the security of the Company's commerce, against the hazards of the sea and the hostilities of an enemy. Its waters, its vegetables, and its climate, seem peculiarly

* Even if grain crops could be generally depended on at St. Helena, it is still very doubtful whether bread from them could be obtained at so cheap a rate as that made from imported flour ; but the growth of corn, with the view to applying the straw, whether in a green or a ripe state, to the feeding of cattle, has been found highly advantageous. The practice was introduced by Governor Beatson.

adapted to the recovery of scorbutic patients; and instances frequently occur of those who have been sent to the hospital in the last stages of the sea-scurvy, in the course of two or three weeks being restored to perfect health, vigour, and activity.

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Lands, in general, are supposed to yield a net profit of between seven and eight per cent. The price of labour is high; a carpenter cannot be hired under six or seven shillings a day. A mason's wages vary from four to five shillings; and those of a labourer from two shillings to half-a-crown, or to a black man, engaged by the year, from ten to twenty pounds. In this case clothing is likewise to be provided, as well as maintenance, and medical attendance in the event of sickness. The value of slaves depends very much upon their character. The sum of £150 has been paid for a good husbandman, but a man of bad character may be purchased for £30.* The price of this species of labour, comparatively with that of a free man, is always high, because the slave is only influenced by the desire of avoiding stripes; and exceptions

* All these rates apply to the year 1805. They afterwards rose, but are now falling, which in a great measure may be attributed to the introduction of Chinese.

CHAP. I. to this rule constitute estimable characters. To
Introduction. obviate as much as possible this degrading defect, a plan was adopted by Governor Patton, and a subscription set on foot, for distributing to the slaves honorary medals and pecuniary rewards, proportioned to their merit, from which great advantages resulted; and if the system be followed up, the most important effects may be expected, both in a moral and political point of view. The total want of religious instruction among this class of people has, doubtless, contributed to their depravity;* for the amendment of which a regular attendance at public worship has been enjoined, under police regulations.

Although it must be confessed that, prior to the promulgation of the present slave-laws, instances have now and then occurred of barbarous cruelty towards slaves; yet that vice by no means forms a common feature in the character of the white inhabitants; who, on the contrary, in general approve themselves humane and kind masters.

The contents of the Island, in acres, may be classed as follows:—

* A better prospect has since more than dawned, and has continued to brighten:

	Acres.	CHAP. I. Introduction.
Lands held in fee-simple, subject only to an acknowledgment to the Company of one shilling per acre.	2,237	
Lands held upon leases of twenty-one years, and a few upon lives renewable, at a rent to the Company of from sixpence to twelve shillings per acre. ...	3,476	
Lands in the occupancy of the Company, including the demesne attached to the Governor's residence.	2,504	
Waste lands, affording some little pasture, or capable of producing trees, about...	8,000	
Waste lands, totally unfertile or rocky, about	14,083	
	<hr/>	
Total superficial contents...	30,300	
	<hr/>	

Without reckoning Government houses, and exclusive of huts inhabited by slaves, herdsmen, or poor people, there are eighty dwellings in the country, of which thirty-seven are of a respectable description, and twenty particularly so.

The following table shews the amount of population in the years 1805 and 1823:—

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	1805.	1823.
White inhabitants	504	1,201
Civil and Military establishments *.....	1,314	911
Slaves	1,231	1,074
Free blacks and people of colour	329	729†
Chinese.....	—	442
Lascars	—	24
Total.....	3,378	4,381

The island comprises only one parish ; but, for the more regular performance of the county and parish officers' duties, it is divided into three districts, viz., the east, the west, and the south, or Sandy Bay division. There are two churches, one in the town, and another in the country.

By repeated charters from the Crown of Great

* The strength of the garrison fluctuates according to circumstances. Recruits from England, after a couple of years' seasoning at St. Helena, have been frequently sent on to India.

† This number is believed to be under-rated.

Britain, the possession of St. Helena is assigned in perpetual property to the East-India Company as Lords Proprietors, with powers of sovereignty and legislation. The supreme and executive authority within the island, is vested in the Governor, and a Council composed of two of the senior civil servants. They are the immediate representatives of the Lords Proprietors, and the superintending agents of all their concerns at the island. They are also justices of the peace, and commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and gaol delivery, and they exercise the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Court, in granting letters of administration, and proving wills, &c. When the Council are not assembled, the authority of the whole board concentrates in the Governor; and, by charter from the Crown, he is vested with the powers of Captain-General.

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The civil establishment consists of the Secretary to Government, an Accountant, Pay-master, and Store-keeper, with their assistants, some of whom also hold offices of inferior note; and promotions generally take place by seniority.

The military force of the island is composed of a battalion of artillery, and one of infantry,

CHAP. I. each commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel ; and
Introduction. four companies of white and black militia, who
are called volunteers.

The Governor is allowed a town and country residence, and a liberal table, at the Company's expense, with servants, horses, &c. ; and the Members of Council are each allowed a town residence.

The primary formation of the island, or the cause of its original existence, forms a curious subject for philosophical conjecture, but does not belong to the recorder of occurrences which succeeded to the event of its discovery. The general supposition is, that if the island did not owe its first existence to fire, it certainly had been subsequently exposed to the influence of that active element, of which the volcanic productions so abundant upon its surface, emulating those of Sicily and Italy, give sufficient confirmation. This much is all that it is expedient here to mention ; more especially as an inquiry into this subject has occupied the talents of a writer much better qualified for such a research, in the philosophical description of the island, published in the year 1805, to which the reader is referred, if he be desirous to examine into the natural history of St. Helena, as well as into the

civil and political occurrences which succeeded to its occupation.

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One observation, however, occurs upon a remark of that writer, suggested by the records of the island, which it may be proper to mention. He assigns reasons for adopting the opinion that no apprehension need now be entertained that the island will again be visited by any convulsions of nature ; in which it is devoutly to be wished that his judgment may be confirmed. But in a letter from the Governor and Council, which is dated on the 16th of June 1756, the following passage occurs : “ On the 7th “ instant, a little before seven o’clock in the “ morning, were sensibly felt, in several parts “ of the island, two small shocks of an earthquake, but did no manner of harm.” Some of the most respectable of the present inhabitants of the island have likewise affirmed, that a sensation was felt by a variety of people of credibility, in different situations upon the island, at the same instant, like a trembling of the earth, accompanied with a noise resembling distant thunder, in the year 1782, by which the glasses on a side-board were agitated and struck against each other ; and a number of blacks, who were employed in a

CHAP. I. yam plantation, were so terrified as to abandon
their work.*

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tion.

After thus having suggested the apprehended possibility of so dreadful a calamity revisiting the island, against the reasoning of an intelligent writer, who represents it as unlikely, it behoves us to re-consider the peculiar comforts and advantages which its inhabitants at present enjoy. St. Helena is gifted with considerable attractions and advantages, both local and natural: the temperature and salubrity of the climate are not exceeded in any part of the world; the variations of heat and cold are moderate, and generally fluctuate near the point most congenial to animal existence; it is fanned by a constant and equable wind, surrounded by plenty and variety of fish, and refreshed by numerous springs of excellent water; the seclusion of its inhabitants is relieved by the frequent arrival of visitants;

* Another shock of an earthquake, or rather, two, in almost instantaneous succession, were felt on the 21st September 1817, about ten P. M. A loud rumbling sound was at the same time heard, which by some was described as resembling that kind of noise that accompanies an extended blaze of fire. It awaked Buonaparte, who, at first, thought it was his Majesty's ship Conquerer that had blown up. The shock was also felt by those on board. It however occasioned no injury.

and this intercourse chequers and corrects their uniformity of life, and tends to improve both the manners and the mind. The climate seems to be peculiarly adapted to the constitutions of Europeans, of whom many have resided here for a long series of years without suffering any malady. According to the information of a professional friend, who has assisted this account with his opinion and judgment, the only endemic disorders to which the natives are subject, are of the catarrhal kind: these, as they belong to the inflammatory class, may perhaps in some measure account, notwithstanding their general robust health, for the few instances amongst the islanders of remarkable longevity; it not being within present recollection, that a white inhabitant has attained to the age of ninety. Of ten amongst the oldest, who have died within the last fifteen years, eighty-one is the average of their ages: one however had reached eighty-nine, another eighty-eight, and a third eighty-six. In a company of invalids, consisting of sixty-one men, there are now thirteen whose ages exactly average seventy. They are mostly in the enjoyment of excellent health, although several have led irregular lives, and may claim the title of *hard goers*. If, during the six years that the King's troops were stationed at St. Helena, there

CHAP. I. was one period of sickness and mortality amongst
 Introduc- them and the squadron, the causes perhaps might
 tion. be traced to other sources than climate. There
 was only *one* death* amongst the *officers* of
 the troops in the whole course of the above
 six years; and that officer was in an ill state
 of health before he arrived.

In the remarks on the climate and prevailing
 diseases of St. Helena, by a very intelligent
 and scientific gentleman, who was at the head of
 the medical staff, he observes that “recruits for
 “ the St. Helena regiments have been supplied†
 “ by soldiers returning from India, a practice
 “ that should, if possible, be abolished, as most
 “ of them, if not all, are suffering from diseases
 “ contracted in that country; few men returning
 “ who have not suffered from liver complaints,
 “ dysenteries, and other visceral diseases, that
 “ render them unfit subjects for military duty
 “ in any climate.” Nevertheless, “the proportion
 “ of sick to healthy amongst the military, who
 “ from their mode of life are most exposed to
 “ disease, is seldom above one in thirty, inclu-
 “ ding casualties and many trifling complaints
 “ that scarcely deserve notice. The troops are
 “ under constant exposure, so that if disease

* Captain Turton, of the 66th Regiment.

† Partly.

“ did exist, or could be called into action, it
“ would be impossible for them to escape
“ it, as they are always in a state of exertion,
“ either in performing the military duties of
“ the garrison, or employed on fatigue.”

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“ In a tropical climate, and exposed under
“ toil to the influence of a tropical sun, this
“ standard of health may seem extraordinary,
“ as there are few places so situated where the
“ like exists ; but such are the advantages of the
“ island from being placed in the trade winds,
“ that not only carry off the superfluous heat
“ and such effluvia as may be generated hurtful
“ to the constitution, but the constant breeze
“ evidently occasions the formation of a cloudy
“ covering, which rests between the sun and the
“ island, thus affording protection from its rays
“ to labourers and others exposed to its influence,
“ besides preventing, by the diminished heat,
“ the putrefaction of animal and vegetable sub-
“ stances in situations where stagnant waters
“ exist, that would be productive of such evil
“ from marsh miasma, so that the occurrence of
“ those violent and rapid forms of disease is
“ prevented, which appear throughout the
“ tropics in general.”

“ It would appear that there are few

CHAP. I. "causes of disease in St. Helena, and, in my
 Introduc- "opinion, only one of importance, *viz.* checked
 tion. "perspiration."

The following is the official return of deaths, from sickness and casualties, during the year 1823, including Europeans, Chinese, and natives of all colours. That year is not considered to have been unusually healthy, but it happens to be the first and only year in which such a document has been obtained:—

Diseases.	No. died of each Disease.
Abcess	2
Apoplexy	2
Cancer	1
Carcinoma	1
Chlorosis	1
Convulsions	3*
Debility	7†
Diarrhœa	3
Dropsy	2
Dysentery	2
Fever	3

Carried forward...27

* Infants.

† Most of these were between sixty and eighty years old.

Diseases.	No. died of each Disease.	CHAP. I. — Introduc- tion.
Brought forward...27		
Hepatitis	3	
Hermorrhage	2	
Palsy	1	
Phrenitis	2	
Phthisis	5	
Sneumonia	1	
Scrofula	1	
Hung themselves	2*	
Shot himself	1†	
Found dead	2†	
Total.....47		

If we exclude the five casualties, there will remain forty-two deaths from disease, which is a little under one per cent. in a population of four thousand three hundred and eighty-one.

The anchorage in the Road is safe and sheltered; and though the vessels riding there sometimes drive to sea, this is owing rather to the steep declivity of the bank, than to the force or impression of the wind. The surf is occasion-

* Chinese.

† Soldier.

‡ Soldiers, at the foot of precipices, down which they are supposed to have fallen.

CHAP. I. ally high and dangerous ; but the ocean beyond
Introduction. it is never ruffled by those hurricanes which in
other climates occasion so much distress. The
approach from the south-east is smooth and
commodious ; and on departing for Europe, the
ship glides away before a gentle and a steady
breeze.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF ST. HELENA, TO THE
YEAR 1673.

Discovery of the Island—Its first Inhabitants—Is visited by Captain Cavendish—Mutual enmities and hostilities of the Dutch and Portuguese—The Portuguese abandon St. Helena—The Dutch settle on it, and afterwards abandon it for the Cape of Good Hope—Settlement formed by the London East-India Company—A fort erected by Governor Dutton in 1658—Possession of the London East-India Company confirmed by Royal Charter—Reasons for doubting the authenticity of the account that St. Helena was captured by the Dutch in 1665—State of the Island in 1666—Regulations for the Colony in 1668—Regulations in 1671, 2—St. Helena taken by the Dutch, and recovered in 1673.

PREVIOUS to the discovery of a passage to the Eastern World by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, the traffic with India formed the chief source of the wealth and power of Venice. It was carried on through the medium of the Moors ; a name applied generally to those Arabs who had become masters of the Ethiopian, Arabian, and Indian seas, had colonies in every

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CHAP. II. place convenient for trade on these coasts, and
From its discovery to 1673. were almost the only merchants of the East.

The Portuguese, actuated by that spirit of enterprise for which they were distinguished in the fifteenth century, and desirous to participate in a trade which had excited the envy of almost all nations, had long contemplated the opening a passage to India round the Southern extremity of Africa; and, in the full determination to make the attempt, King Emanuel, in the year 1497, equipped a squadron for the voyage, which he entrusted to the command of the celebrated Vasco de Gama. From the then imperfect knowledge of navigation, and of the course of the trade-winds, it was four months before he reached the Cape of Good Hope, and in one of the many deviations which it may well be supposed he unwillingly made from his direct course, it is said that "there is reason to think" he saw the island which is the subject of the present pages.* On whatever grounds this supposition may have been formed, the more general opinion is, that it was first discovered by John de Nova, or Juan de Nova Castella, in the year 1502. Of this officer we read the following account.

* Note in Campbell's Political Survey, vol. ii, page 590.

The Moors regarding the arrival of the Portuguese in India as an alarming invasion of their commerce, determined, by secret treachery, as well as open hostility, to circumvent the projects of such formidable rivals. Their intrigues, and the perfidy of the Zamorin of Callicut, involved the Portuguese in a war with that prince, and King Emanuel, to give a decided superiority to his arms, made preparations for sending De Gama a second time to India with a fleet of twenty sail; but as there would be some delay before so large an armament could be completely equipped, three ships were dispatched under De Nova as an immediate reinforcement to De Cabral, the Portuguese commander in the East. De Nova, after having attacked and defeated a fleet belonging to the Zamorin, was appointed commodore of the returning ships to Europe, and, on the 21st May, in the above year, discovered St. Helena, which took its name from the day being the anniversary of Helena, mother to the Emperor Constantine.

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The event is stated by several writers to have been accompanied with the loss of one of the fleet, a large carrack; but whether from having accidentally run aground, or intentionally broken up as unseaworthy, seems uncertain.* The

* Dr. John Fryer's voyage.

CHAP. II. mariners, it is said, “drew on shore her weather-
From its “beaten sides, and all the armory and tackling;
discovery to “building with the timber a chappell in this
1673. “valley, from thence called Chappell Valley,”
now James’s Valley. It is believed that this
was the first time the island was visited by hu-
man footstep, and the only animals found upon
it were sea-fowl, seals, sea-lions, and turtle. It
was covered with trees,* and its fine water,
mild climate, productive soil, and safe ancho-
rage, situated in the direct track of ships sailing
from India to Europe, rendered it highly valu-
able to its discoverers. “This island,” says
Osorio in his account of De Nova’s voyage,
“standing by itself in the midst of such a vast
“ocean, seems, as it were, to have been placed
“there by Providence, for the reception and
“shelter of weather-beaten ships in their return
“from an Indian voyage.”

Its discoverers, viewing the benefit which, in
their future voyages, might be derived from im-
proving the natural advantages of the place,
“stocked it with goats, asses, hogs, and other
“cattel,” and very soon after, its means of utility
were increased by the labours of a person named
Fernandez Lopez, of whom the following curious
incident is recorded in several accounts of the

* Osorio.

Portuguese voyages. After a victory, gained by Alphonso Albuquerque, near Goa, the Indian commander, Rotzomo Cam, surrendered, and, according to the terms of capitulation, delivered up several deserters and renegadoes, whom Albuquerque punished by cutting off their noses, ears, right hands, and thumbs of the left, and embarking them for Europe. Thus degraded and mangled, the prospect of revisiting friends and country afforded no consolation to the mind of Fernandez Lopez, one of the sufferers. Unwilling to encounter the ignominy which his crimes had occasioned, he preferred a voluntary exile; and was, in the year 1513, at his own request, landed at St. Helena with a few negro slaves. Such were the first inhabitants of the island. It often happens, that when the degree of punishment exceeds, or is even no more than proportioned to the crime, indignation against the offender is lost in commiseration of his sufferings; and it is not surprising that many were solicitous to afford Lopez every comfort and convenience which his forlorn condition would admit. Roots and vegetables of various kinds, fruit trees, and poultry, were accordingly landed for him; and partridges, pheasants, guinea-fowl, peacocks, and other birds, let loose. Under his fostering protection they increased abundantly, and, in a few years, overspread the

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face of the country. A taste for botany and gardening proved a seasonable relief to his wretchedness, and, doubtless, lightened the burden of many an hour. According to some, he remained four years on the island; but his residence appears to have extended beyond that period, from the narrative of a person who saw him in 1519, and who describes him as having had only one *foot*, as well as but one hand.*

The persons mentioned next in succession as inhabitants, were four slaves, of different sexes, who escaped from their ship, and multiplied to the number of twenty. Their subsistence being derived from depredations on the live stock and plantations intended for the benefit of mariners, it became an object to root out this mischievous and increasing colony; but their secret haunts and places of retreat, to which they resorted upon the appearance of shipping, gave them such advantages, that an order from the Portuguese government for their reduction was not finally accomplished without some difficulty.†

* “ Questa isola è in sedici gradi larga del Polo Antartico, e non vi è habitatione alcuna, se non d'un huomo Portoghese, il quale non ha se non una mano, e un piede, senza naso, e senza orecchie, e si chiama Fornamlopem.”—*Narratione d'un Portoghese, compagno di Odoarda Barbosa, quel fu sopra la nave Vittoria del anno MDXIX.*

† Voyages de Mons. Pyrard.

St. Helena was likewise, at an early period, the abode of a Portuguese Franciscan, who, according to Tavernier, led an austere life there for fourteen years, and then died. But, in Mons. Pyrard's voyage, it is related that he was removed in consequence of the number of goats he destroyed for the sake of their skins, an article in which he carried on a great traffic. Mons. Pyrard was at the Island in 1610, Tavernier in 1649.

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The Portuguese are supposed to have been anxious to conceal the situation of St. Helena from the knowledge of other nations, and are said to have succeeded in keeping the secret until it was visited by Cavendish.* It was, however, four years prior to that event, landed upon by two Japanese Ambassadors to Rome, the relation of whose voyage was published in Venice, in 1586, by Guido Gualtieri.

The island was discovered by Captain Cavendish on the 8th June 1588, upon his return from

* This is mentioned upon the authority of a manuscript, containing extracts and memoranda, collected at different times by Lieutenant Thomas Leach, a native of the island; who, by his unwearied pursuits in historical research, and his surprisingly retentive memory, had acquired a great degree of general information.

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a circumnavigating voyage. The lightness of the breeze prevented him from getting in that day, but the following morning a boat was sent to discover a convenient anchorage, which was chosen opposite Chapel Valley, in twelve fathoms water. The state of the island at that period is circumstantially described, by the writer of Captain Cavendish's Voyage, in the following words:

“ The same day, about two or three o'clock in
 “ the afternoon, we went on shore, where we
 “ found an exceeding fair and pleasant valley,
 “ wherein divers handsome buildings and houses
 “ were set up; and one particularly, which
 “ was a church, was tiled, and whitened on the
 “ outside very fair, and made with a porch;
 “ and within the church, at the upper end, was
 “ set an altar, whereon stood a very large table,
 “ set in a frame, having on it the picture of our
 “ Saviour Christ upon the cross, and the image
 “ of our Lady praying, with divers other histo-
 “ ries painted curiously on the same. The sides
 “ of the church were hung round with stained
 “ cloths, having many devices drawn on them.

“ There are two houses adjoining to the
 “ church, on each side one, which served for a
 “ kitchen to dress meat in, with necessary rooms
 “ and houses of office. The coverings of the
 “ said houses are made flat, where is planted

“ a very fair vine ; and through both the said
“ houses runneth a very good and wholesome
“ stream of fresh water.

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“ There is also, over and against the church,
“ a very fair causeway, made up with stones,
“ reaching unto a valley by the sea side, in
“ which valley is planted a garden, wherein
“ grows a great store of pompions and melons ;
“ and upon the said causeway is a frame
“ erected, whereon hangs two bells, wherewith
“ they ring to mass ; and near to it a cross
“ is set up, which is squared, framed, and made
“ very artificially of free-stone, whereon is
“ carved in cyphers what time it was built,
“ which was in the year of our Lord 1571.

“ The valley is the fairest and largest low
“ plot in all the island, and is exceedingly
“ sweet and pleasant, and planted in every
“ place either with fruit or with herbs.

“ There are fig-trees which bear fruit con-
“ tinually, and very plentifully ; for on every
“ tree you may see blossoms, green figs, and
“ ripe figs, all at once, and it is so all the year
“ long. The reason is, that the island standeth
“ so near the sun. There is also great store
“ of lemon-trees, orange-trees, pomegranate-

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“ trees, pomecitron-trees, and date-trees, which
“ bear fruit as the fig-trees do, and are planted
“ carefully and very artificially, with pleasant
“ walks under and between them; and the
“ said walks are overshadowed with the leaves
“ of the trees; and in every void place is plant-
“ ed parsley, sorrel, basil, fennel, anniseed,
“ mustard-seed, radishes, and many very
“ good herbs. The fresh-water brook runneth
“ through divers places of this orchard, and
“ may, with very small pains, be made to water
“ any tree in the valley.

“ This fresh-water stream cometh from the
“ tops of the mountains, and falleth from the
“ cliff into the valley the height of a cable,
“ and hath many arms issuing out of it, that
“ refresh the whole island, and almost every tree
“ in it. The island is altogether high moun-
“ tains and steep valleys, except it be on the
“ tops of some hills, and down below in some of
“ the valleys, where great plenty of all those
“ fruits before spoken of do grow. There are
“ much more growing on the tops of the
“ mountains than below in the valleys; but
“ it is very toilsome and dangerous travelling
“ up unto them, and down again, by reason
“ of the height and steepness of the hills.

“ There are also upon this island great store

“ of partridges, which are very tame, not
“ making any great haste to fly away though
“ one come very near them, but only run away
“ and get up into the cliffs. We killed some
“ of them with a fowling-piece. They differ
“ very much from our partridges which are
“ in England, both in bigness and also in
“ colour, and live in coveys, twelve, sixteen,
“ and twenty together. You cannot go ten or
“ twelve score paces but you shall spring one
“ or two coveys at least.

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“ There are likewise no less plenty of phea-
“ sants in the island, which are also very big and
“ fat, surpassing those which are in our country
“ in bigness and numbers in a company; they
“ differ not very much in colour from the
“ partridges before spoken of. We found more-
“ over in this island plenty of guinea-cocks,
“ which we call turkeys, of colour black and
“ white, with red heads; they are much the
“ same in bigness with ours in England: their
“ eggs are white, and as big as a turkey's egg.

“ There are in this island thousands of
“ goats, which the Spaniards call cabritos, which
“ are very wild; you shall see one or two
“ hundred of them together, and sometimes

CHAP. II. “ you may see them go in a flock almost a mile
From its “ long ; some of them (whether it be the nature
discovery to “ of the breed of them, or the country, I know
1673. “ not) are as big as an ass, with a mane like a
“ horse, and a beard hanging down to the very
“ ground; they will climb up the cliffs, which are
“ so steep that a man would think it impossible
“ that any living creature could go there.
“ We took and killed many of them, for all their
“ swiftness, for there are thousands of them
“ upon the mountains.

“ Here are, in like manner, great store of
“ swine, which are very wild and fat, and of
“ great bigness; they keep altogether upon the
“ mountains, and will very seldom abide any
“ man to come near them, except it be by mere
“ chance, when they are found asleep, or other-
“ wise, according to their kind, are taken lying
“ in the mire.

“ We found in the houses, at our coming,
“ three slaves, who were Negroes, and one who
“ was born in the island of Java, who told us
“ that the East-India fleet, which were in
“ number five sail, the least whereof was in
“ burden eight or nine hundred tons, all laden
“ with spices and Callicut cloth, with store of

“ treasure and very rich stones and pearls, were
“ gone from the said island of St. Helena but
“ twenty days before we came hither.

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“ When the Portuguese touch at the island,
“ they have all things in plenty for their relief,
“ by reason that they suffer none to inhabit
“ there that might eat up all the produce of
“ the island, except some very few sick persons
“ of their company, whom they suspect will not
“ live until they come home; these they leave
“ there to refresh themselves, and take them
“ away the year following, with the other
“ fleet, if they live so long.”

The next British Commander that visited St. Helena was Captain Kendall, of the ship Royal Merchant, which, with the Penelope, Captain Raymond, and the Bonaventure, Captain Lancaster, were fitted out from London in the year 1591 on an East-India voyage. Arriving at the Cape of Good Hope with their crews exhausted by the scurvy, it was judged advisable that the Royal Merchant should return and convey to England the sick men of the squadron. On her passage home she touched at St. Helena, where her debilitated people derived the benefits which that island afforded. The other two ships were afterwards separated in a violent gale of

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wind, and the Admiral (Raymond) was never heard of more. Captain Lancaster proceeded to India; and returning, after many disasters, reached St. Helena on the 3d of April 1593. A boat having been sent on shore, the attention of its crew was attracted by a voice singing within the chapel, which they entered. Their sudden appearance greatly alarmed the forlorn singer, until he found they were his own countrymen; and, to add to his delight, he recognized amongst them some of his old companions. This man (John Segar) was one of those whom it had been deemed necessary to send home in the Royal Merchant, but his disease had made such progress that he had been left by Captain Kendall at St. Helena, as the only chance that remained of saving his life: his comrades had made him two suits of goat skins, and his diet and the climate of the place had completely restored him to bodily health; but the sudden transition to joy, from a state of apprehension that he might never return to his native land, was too much for the poor creature's mind: during eight days and nights he took no natural rest, and died literally for want of sleep.

Captain Lancaster remained nineteen days at St. Helena; from whence, with a mutinous

crew, he steered for the West-Indies, and, after much distress, reached the island of Mona. Here his ship drove out to sea with only five men and a boy on board, the carpenter having cut the cable ; and Captain Lancaster obtaining a passage in a French vessel, arrived in England in May 1594.—This was the first voyage undertaken to India by English merchants : and a second was equally unfortunate ; for out of three ships, which sailed in 1596 from England, not one returned.

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No further attempt was made by the English to open a traffic with the East, until the incorporation of the India Company. That event, so memorable in the commercial annals of England, took place in the year 1600 under the auspices of Queen Elizabeth. They opened their concern with a capital of seventy-two thousand pounds ; part of which was laid out in the equipment of four ships, *viz.*, the Dragon, Hector, Ascension, and Susan, all under the command of Captain Lancaster. In the occurrences of this voyage the importance of St. Helena was most advantageously experienced. After succesful negociations, by which the Indian trade was opened and established, the Ascension and Susan were sent to England laden with spices, and were

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followed by Captain Lancaster, in the *Dragon*, accompanied by the *Hector*. These two ships encountered a violent tempest off the Cape of Good Hope, which occasioned the loss of the *Dragon's* rudder ; and, after extreme difficulties and hardships, they reached St. Helena on the 16th of June. In the shelter of this safe and convenient anchorage, Captain Lancaster repaired his damages, whilst an abundance of wild goats, and other refreshments, gave new vigour and renovation to his exhausted men ; and on the 11th of September 1603 they arrived safe in England.

At this period St. Helena was likewise known to the Dutch, who are accused of destroying the stock, laying waste the plantations,*

* At an auction of a Planter's effects on the island, some years ago, several very old books were sold ; among the number was a kind of geographical treatise. In this, after mentioning the discovery of the island, its fertility and productions, the following circumstances are stated : “ Yet this
“ isle is not inhabited, but serves for the English, Portuguese, Spaniards, and Hollanders to refresh themselves in
“ going, but, for the most part, in returning from the Indies
“ it being sufficient to furnish ships with provisions for their
“ voyage, here being salt to preserve the meat from stinking ; and besides, the air is so healthful, that they often
“ leave their sick people there, who, in a short time, are
“ restored

defacing the chapel, and breaking down a large cross of free-stone, which had been brought from Portugal. That they had some provocation, however, for such acts, appears probable, from their having, on one occasion, left a billet containing the following words: “ *Portuguese, leave us our inscriptions and letters, and we will leave you your crosses and pictures.*”* It is also stated, in Linschot’s

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“ restored to perfect health, and by the next ships that put in there, are taken again; during which time they find wherewithall to feed them. But, some years ago, the Hollanders ruined all that was good, only to spight the Spaniards, who afterwards did the same, that the English, Hollanders, &c., might have no profit of it.”

This is in some degree confirmed by Tavernier, in the following words:—

“ Il y a quantité de citronniers et quelques orangers que les Portugais avoient autrefois plantez. Car cette nation a cela de bon, que là où elle est, elle tâche de faire quelque chose pour le bien de ceux qui doivent venir ensuite dans le mesme lieu; les Hollandois font tout le contraire, et tâchent de détruire tout, afin que ceux qui pourroient venir après eux ne trouvent rien. Il est vray que ce ne sont pas les chefs qui en usent de la sorte; mais la plupart de matelots et soldats, qui se disent l’un à l’autre, nous n’y reviendrons plus, et qui, pour avoir plutôt le fruit de l’arbre, le coupent par le pied au lieu de le cueillir.”—*Voyages de Tavernier*, tome ii., p. 569.

* Pyrard’s voyage.

CHAP. II. voyage, upon the authority of some sailors left
for recovery by a Portuguese vessel, that some
From its discovery to 1673. of the crew of an English ship, answering by
her route* the description of that of Sir Thomas
Cavendish, had injured the chapel and broken
down the altar and images.

Whilst St. Helena was frequented promiscuously by the ships of nations sometimes in a state of mutual hostility, it may well be supposed that it would occasionally be the scene of a somewhat more decided kind of warfare than the plundering of gardens or the spoiling of pictures. In the accounts of early voyagers we find three naval actions noticed as having occurred at the anchorage. The first of these was in the year 1600, when a Dutch ship, being in the road, was approached at sun-set by a caraval (but of what nation is not expressed), at which upwards of two hundred shots were fired. The caraval being unprepared, was unable to return the fire until midnight, when having got six of her guns mounted, they were used with such effect that the Dutch ship put to

* This ship was stated to have performed a circumnavigating voyage, passing through the Straits of Magellan, thence to the Philippines, the Straits of Sunda, and round the Cape of Good Hope, which exactly corresponds with the track of Sir Thomas Cavendish.

sea after the loss of two men killed.* The next instance was in 1625. A Spanish carrack, it appears, was at anchor off Chapel Valley, and upon the approach of a Dutch ship, lost no time in warping close in, with her stern made fast to a hawser from the shore ; and landing some of her guns, they were placed so as to cover the position she had thus occupied. At first the Dutch captain (Bontekou) seemed to regard the carrack as an easy prize, all that he deemed necessary being merely *to cut the cable and take her out*: but, according to his own account, this design† was frustrated by the gusts which blew down the valleys, and on approaching the carrack within musket shot, he laid aside his intentions of taking her, preferring rather to send a civil request for permission to water. This was rejected with abusive language, the Spaniards exclaiming

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* Voyage of Captain John Davies, as pilot to a Dutch ship.

† “ Notre dessein étoit d'en venir vite à l'abordage, de couper le cable, et de remorquer la carraque au large, c'est ce qu'il nous eût été aisé de faire, parce que ses bordées portoient trop haut, et que notre vaisseau se seroit approché d'elle sans en pouvoir être atteint, de sorte que nous eussions pû la joindre et la prendre avec assez de facilité.”—*Voyage de Guillaume Isbrantöz Bontekou.*

CHAP. II. “ *Anda Petro, Anda Canaly :*” but the want of water on board the Dutch ship was so pressing, that Captain Bontekou resolved to fight for it, and an action accordingly commenced, in which mutual damage was sustained. The guns on shore were so well directed, that the Dutch, apprehensive of being sunk, carried out a kedge anchor, and warped their ship under a point (apparently Munden’s Point) which covered them from the fire of the battery ; and night coming on, a council of war was assembled, when it was decided that rather than renew the engagement, they should pursue their voyage upon a reduced allowance of water. But even this resolution they were not permitted to carry into effect without molestation, for on the following morning, when their boat was proceeding to weigh the kedge anchor, a party of Spaniards appeared at the water side, and opening a fire of musketry, materially harassed their operations. Captain Bontekou relates that, “ by God’s mercy,” he was preserved from this peril also ; deeming himself fortunate in effecting his departure, although without either prize or water. The carrack, however, suffered so severely in the action, that she sunk at her moorings : a considerable part of the wreck was saved, including most of the guns, and these having been placed in a work hastily

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thrown up on the emergency, very shortly after proved successful in beating off a Dutch fleet of six sail, who, as well as Captain Bontikou, were compelled to depart without water.

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As the crew of the carrack would naturally apply themselves to the erection of temporary dwellings, for which materials were procurable from the wreck, we accordingly find that Sir Thomas Herbert, in a subsequent voyage, mentions "some ruins of a little town," which he also states had become "a magazine of private trade," and for that reason, seemingly, had been destroyed by the Spanish Government. Of the fruit-trees, spoken of in Cavendish's voyage, none were to be seen by Sir Thomas Herbert, except one lemon-tree.*

* "This isle," Sir Thomas says, "is hard to be ascended; not that the passage is craggy, but that it is so precipitous. The sailors have an ironic proverb: *The way is such as a man may choose whether he will break his heart going up or his neck coming down*; but being once up, scarce any place can yield a more large or more delightful prospect. The land is very even and plain at the top, and swells no where to a deformed rising."—"There are but two noted rivulets; one which bubbles down towards the chappel, the other into the Lemon Valley, so called from a lemon-tree and chappel built at the bottom of the isle by the Spaniard, anno 1571, and by the Dutch of late pulled down; a place once intended for God's worship, but now disposed of to

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The ambition of the Court of Lisbon to acquire Eastern dominion was well seconded by some of its viceroys there, who carried their conquests from the Eastern shores of Africa to the confines of China. The acquisition of the ports of Sofola, Mombaza, Melinda, Magadoza, Mosambique, and other places, seem, in their opinion, to have obviated the necessity of re-

“ common uses. There are also some ruins of a little town
“ lately demolished by the Spaniard, in that it became a ma-
“ gazine of private trade in turning and returning out of both
“ the Indies; no other monuments nor antiquities are there
“ found. You see all if you look upon the ribs of a weather-
“ beaten carrique and some broken pieces of great ordnance,
“ which, albeit left there against the owner’s liking, serve some
“ instead of anchors. Human inhabitants there are none.”—
“ Here, with a little labour, we got store of pheasants, powts,
“ quails, hens, partridges, and, which was no less acceptable,
“ divers sorts of grass and roots, as wood-sorrel, three-leaved
“ grass, scurvy-grass, and like acid herbs sovereign against
“ the scurvy, the usual disease from the sea, and most predo-
“ minating amongst islanders. We had also basil, parsley,
“ mint, spinage, fennel, annis, radish, mustard-seed, tobacco,
“ and some others, which, by a willing hand, directed by an
“ ingenious eye, may soon be gathered; brought hither and
“ here sown by Fernandus Lupises, a Portugal, in the
“ year of our Lord 1509, for the good of his countrymen;
“ who, nevertheless, at this day, dare hardly land to oversee
“ their seminary, or own their labours; the English and
“ Dutch, in the churlish language of a canon, sometimes dis-
“ puting the propriety.”—“In the old chappel here we buried
“ our Captain Andrew Evans.”

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taining St. Helena, which was accordingly deserted, and remained for a long time desolate. But about the year 1643, two Portuguese car-racks being wrecked here, their crews got on shore, and once more replenished the island with cattle, hogs, goats, &c. The Dutch soon after took possession of it, established a colony, and made themselves well acquainted with its interior: their writer mentions, “ that in the
 “ clefts between the rocks there are veins of
 “ very valuable kinds of boles or earth; some
 “ of the nature of the Terra Lemnia, and not
 “ at all inferior to it; some, in the rocks to-
 “ wards the south-west of the isle, of a rich
 “ bright red, which may possibly be what
 “ Nienhoff mentions; and, towards the east,
 “ veins of a very fine azure :” * In corroboration of this, it is to be observed, that in more recent researches, several earths have been found which have been regarded as valuable for painters’ colours.

The Dutch, desirous of possessing the Cape, which was then in the hands of the English, effected their object, it is said, by bribing the chief of that settlement to send home a representation to his Government, that the natives

* Note in Campbell’s Political Survey, vol. ii, page 591.

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were “cannibals, and most cruel terrible creatures, so that it was impossible to hold out against them.” This report having produced an order to quit it,* the Dutch, in 1651, removed thither their settlers from St. Helena, and abandoned the place: a measure which, from their subsequent attempt to regain it, it would appear they regretted.—Soon after, the homeward-bound ships of the London East-India Company, finding the island deserted, took possession, and that Company commenced their improvements with a view to the permanent establishment of a colony.† Under the superintendence of Captain Dutton, the first English Governor, a fort was erected,‡ which is minutely described by the narrator of Mons. Rennefort’s voyage, who

* Beckman’s Voyage.

† Anderson’s History of Commerce, vol. ii. pp. 197 and 417.
Bruce’s Annals of the East-India Company, vol. ii. page 117.

‡ The site of this fort was probably upon or near that of the present Government-House, called the Castle; an appellation seemingly derived from its being enclosed within a high quadrangular wall, or rampart, built in 1707, and surmounted with battlements or small embrasures. In the walls of this building are to be seen the undermentioned inscriptions, which sufficiently indicate the stones so marked to have been relics of Governor Dutton’s fort. No. 1 is inverted, and
just

saw it in 1666. Its form was triangular, with three bastions. On two of the bastions were mounted seven pieces of heavy iron cannon, pointed towards the sea. Four guns were placed on the third, which was upon the land side, and was calculated to serve as a kind of a citadel, in the event of the other parts of the work being taken. The two bastions next the sea were

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just above the surface of the ground, near the gateway. Nos. 2 and 3 are in a bomb-proof magazine under the rampart.

(No. 1.)

CAPT. IOHN DUTTON
GOVERNOR OF THIS ISLE
FIRST ERECTED THIS FORTIFICA-
TION FOR THE ENGLISH EAST
INDIA COMP. IUNE ye 4 ANN. DOM. 1658.
OPERA TESTANTVR DE ME

(No. 2.)

THO. COLEMAN WORKMAN IN CHIEF
OF THIS FORTIFICATION FOR THE
USE OF THE ENGLISH EAST
INDIA COMPANNEY I CAME
IN THE MARMIDVCK
MAN OF WARE

MAY ye 4
1659.

(No 3.)

IOHN
IEFREYS THE
MASTURS
MATE OF THE
ADVICE OCTO
BER ye 16 1659.

CHAP. II. flanked by two redoubts, with two pieces of ordnance on each, nearly upon a level with the water's edge. This work was called Fort James, probably in compliment to the Duke of York (afterwards King James II.), who was an active patron of commerce, and at the head of an African Company. The appellation of James's Valley is derived from the old fort, and the name of Chapel Valley from the Portuguese chapel, the ruins of which were visible when the island was first settled by the English.

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By a charter from King Charles II. the Company were confirmed in their possession of St. Helena, and were privileged to export for the infant colony, duty free, all kinds of provision, stores, ordnance, ammunition, and every thing requisite for the supply and defence of whatever garrisons or fortifications they might think proper to maintain or erect. They were also empowered to send thither any persons desirous of becoming settlers, and to govern them in such legal and reasonable manner as the Company might judge fit.* The offers held out upon this occasion were accepted by many, who, on their arrival, had lands allotted them. Additional supplies of live stock were procured from Mada-

* Appendix A.

gascar; yams were introduced from the same quarter, and some slaves were likewise imported from thence to work in the plantations.

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An opinion has prevailed, that St. Helena was assigned, together with Bombay and Tangier, by the Portuguese to the English as part of the dower of Catherine, Queen to Charles II.; but this supposition is not justified by any authentic information, and is evidently erroneous, as the marriage of King Charles with that Princess did not take place until two years after he had assigned St. Helena, by charter, to the Company.

According to Anderson's History of Commerce, it would appear, that in 1665 St. Helena was taken by the Dutch, and retaken in the same year.* A similar statement is made in Bruce's Annals of the East-India Company.† No authority, however, is cited for the fact, nor are any particulars of it mentioned by either of those writers. A native of Madagascar, named Will, who was brought to the island upon its first settlement by the English, when he was upwards of twenty years old, was alive in 1735;

* Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii. pp. 483 & 527.

† Bruce's Annals, vol. ii. page 232.

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and his testimony regarding events prior, as well as subsequent to 1665, had been received as authentic by those whose inquiries went further back than existing records. It is difficult to suppose he would have been silent on such an occurrence, and equally improbable that his account would not have been repeated by others; yet no tradition of the kind has been handed down; whilst particulars regarding the capture and re-capture of the island, only twelve years after, have been orally transmitted with minuteness. The intelligent writer of Rennefort's voyage, who visited St. Helena early in 1666, does not represent it as the theatre of recent hostilities, a circumstance which, from his particular detail of less important matters, it is not probable he would have omitted to notice. Amongst other things, he speaks of the comforts, approaching to elegance, found within the walls of the little fort, where the French visitors were highly gratified at the hospitable attentions of Governor Stringer and his family.* At that

* “ On étoit à une demie lieue du rivage, lorsque, dans
 “ une petite baie qui s’offroit à la vue, on découvrit un fort
 “ portant pavillon Anglois. On le salua aussitôt de trois
 “ coups de canon, et l’on fut remercié d’un coup. Une
 “ chaloupe s’étant approchée à la portée du pistolet, deman-
 “ da, en langue Angloise, d’où étoit le navire? On lui répon-
 “ dit, de France. De quel quartier de France? De St. Malo.
 “ D’où

period the population of the island was about fifty Englishmen, twenty women, and a few ne-

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“ D’où vient-il ? De Madagascar. Le nom du capitaine ?
 “ La Chesnaie. Qu’il descende, reprit-on, et qu’il vienne
 “ montrer ses commissions au Gouverneur. Enseignez-nous
 “ un lieu de bon ancrage. On lui répondit, qu’on pouvoit
 “ mouiller en sûreté dans cet endroit même. Les ancres
 “ y furent jettées sur vingt-quatre brasses. Le lieute-
 “ nant du vaisseau qui se nommoit La Poupardrie, se
 “ disposant à descendre au lieu du capitaine, qui étoit fort
 “ indisposé, un officier Anglois du fort arriva au bâtiment,
 “ le reconnut, et fournit des rafraîchissemens. La Poupardrie
 “ se rendit au fort avec lui, fit voir les commissions du capi-
 “ taine, et demanda la permission de faire de l’eau, qui lui
 “ fut accordée fort civilement. Le lendemain Rennefort, ac-
 “ compagné de l’écrivain et de cinq ou six des principaux
 “ passagers, alla rendre visite au Gouverneur, qui leur fit
 “ saluer sa femme et deux de ses filles. Il leur présenta
 “ quelques liqueurs en attendant le dîner. Ensuite les ayant
 “ menés lui-même à la chute d’un ruisseau, qui tombe d’entre
 “ deux grands rochers à côté du fort, il prit la peine d’en
 “ faire détourner un courant de la double grosseur du bras,
 “ qu’il fit réduire en tuyaux commodes pour remplir les
 “ tonneaux. Le dîner fut servi avec beaucoup de propreté
 “ en viandes moitié Angloises et moitié Françoises. On
 “ eut les dames à table, et la liberté n’y régna pas moins
 “ qu’en France. Rennefort fut choqué seulement, que lors-
 “ qu’on en fut aux santés, elles furent bues de tout le monde
 “ dans le même verre. La Chesnaie s’étant fait apporter sur
 “ le sable, dans un lit, fut transféré, par l’ordre du Gouver-
 “ neur, dans la plus belle chambre du fort. Le logement
 “ étoit à main gauche, élevé en menuiserie à la manière
 “ d’Angleterre, et couvert de tuiles qui avoient servi de lest
 “ à quelque vaisseau. On y montoit par un balcon de six
 “ marches,

CHAP. II. groes ; but a considerable increase is said to
 From its discovery to 1673. have been very shortly after occasioned by the

“ marches, qui donnoit dans une grande salle-d’armes bien
 “ entretenue. Les quatre coins de la salle ouvroient quatre
 “ appartemens, chacun de trois chambres, tendus et meublés
 “ d’étoffes des Indes et de tapis de Perse, de lits, et de sièges
 “ d’ébene gris et noir, bien tournés et semés de cloux dorés.
 “ Entre quelques tableaux, on y voyoit le portrait du
 “ Roi Charles II., dans l’endroit le plus apparent de la
 “ chambre du Gouverneur, d’où celui de Cromwell avoit
 “ été ôté, et mis dans la ruelle du lit, le visage vers la ta-
 “ pisserie ; sur quoi l’auteur observe que la politique règne
 “ jusque dans les lieux les plus éloignés et les plus solitaires.
 “ A main droite, vingt cases alignés servoient de cazernes
 “ aux soldats de la garnison.”

“ On connoît l’île de St. Hélène par quantité de relations
 “ précédentes, mais celui-ci est la première où elle paroisse
 “ régulièrement habité. Le Gouverneur, nommé Stringer,
 “ étoit âgé d’environ cinquante-cinq ans. Le nombre des
 “ habitans montoit à cinquante Anglois et vingt femmes,
 “ qui étoient entretenues de biscuit, d’huile, et de bœuf salé,
 “ aux dépens de la Compagnie Angloise des Indes Orientales.
 “ La plupart avoient des habitations dans l’île, et venoient à
 “ leur tour faire guet et garde au fort. Ils avoient quelques
 “ nègres pour les services pénibles. Rennefort admira la
 “ quantité de pois, de fèves, de raves, de navets, de choux,
 “ de bananes, de citrons, d’oranges, de grenades et de melons,
 “ qui étoient le fruit d’une soigneuse culture, le raisin
 “ même y mûrissoit, et rien ne s’y trouvoit contraire aux
 “ commodités de la vie qu’une prodigieuse quantité de rats,
 “ auxquels le Gouverneur se proposoit de faire une sanglante
 “ guerre. Les cabris y passoient en grand nombre. On
 “ y avoit porté des chevaux, mais ils étoient devenus si
 “ farouches

dreadful fire in London, which ruined so many families, and, like other public calamities, induced numbers to seek relief in distant climes.

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“ farouches que lorsqu’on les poursuivoit jusqu’aux extrêmités
 “ de l’île, ils se précipitoient du sommet des rochers dans
 “ la mer plutôt que de se laisser prendre. Les perdrix et
 “ les pintades y faisoient le divertissement de la chasse.
 “ M. Stringer commettoit à ses nègres le soin d’environ
 “ quatre-vingt vaches, et laissoit à quatre femmes celui du lait
 “ et du beurre. Il fit voir aux François les curiosités de son
 “ cabinet, entre lesquelles Rennefort admira les ossemens d’un
 “ lamantin, ou d’une vache marine, nommé aussi manatée,
 “ et la peau préparée pour en faire un justaucorps qui devoit
 “ être à l’épreuve d’un pistolet. On y voyoit un poisson
 “ volant, le plus gros que dont on eût l’exemple, quoiqu’il ne
 “ le fut pas plus qu’un maquereau ordinaire, de l’ambergris,
 “ et toutes les espèces d’étoffes et de curiosités qu’on apporte
 “ des Indes ; cinq livres de civettes, dans une bouteille de
 “ verre, estimée à cinq ou six mille francs. Les officiers du
 “ vaisseau achetèrent, pendant leur séjour, des boites de
 “ civettes, des bagues de cornaline, des manches de cou-
 “ teaux d’agate, du satin de la Chine, des porcelaines, des
 “ cannes de Japan, et d’autres marchandises Indiennes, dont
 “ les Anglois de l’île étoient bien pourvus. Deux chats
 “ musqués ou deux civettes leur coûtèrent soixante piastres.
 “ Le capitaine, un peu moins malade, se fit conduire au
 “ vaisseau pour y recevoir le Gouverneur Anglois, sa femme,
 “ son fils, ses deux filles, et son gendre. On y bût encore
 “ les santés des Rois de France et d’Angleterre. Enfin, le 7
 “ d’Avril, après avoir levés les ancres et reçu du Gouverneur
 “ des lettres pour la Compagnie Orientale de Paris, on fit
 “ aux Anglois des remerciemens de leur politesse par la
 “ bouche des canons, auxquels ceux du fort répondit coup
 “ pour

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Although garden-stuff and fruits were observed by M. Rennefort to have been in great abundance, it does not appear that the place afforded food sufficient for its inhabitants, as they were fed, at the Company's expense, upon salt provisions. Rats seem to have been as numerous and as destructive as in later periods. A breed of horses had been introduced; but had been suffered to run wild, so that when attempted to be caught, in endeavouring to avoid their pursuers, they dashed themselves from the precipices into the sea.

According to Bruce's Annals,* orders were sent to Governor Stringer, that all captains of the Company's ships, when at St. Helena, should

“ pour coup. Il seroit difficile de comprendre comment de si
 “ belles apparences d'amitié se changèrent bientôt en cruelles
 “ hostilités si l'on différoit plus long-tems a faire observer que
 “ la paix étoit rompue entre les deux nations,† et que ce
 “ fâcheux événement, qui avoit déjà fait répandre beaucoup
 “ de sang en Europe, étoit encore ignoré dans les regions
 “ éloignées.”—*Voyages de Mons. de Rennefort, l'an 1666.*
Histoire générale des Voyages, tom. 8, liv. 2.

* Vol. ii. page 232. This author mentions that the appointment of Capt. Stringer as Resident Governor took place in 1668-9.

† France declared war in January 1666.

act as members of his council. Two hundred
acres of land were to be reserved in the hands
of the Company. Settlers were to be accom-
modated with land, in the proportion of fifteen
acres to each family, “ and the lands for which
“ settlers could not be found were to be com-
“ mon, on which the inhabitants in general
“ were to have the privilege of pasturage for
“ their cattle, till the Court should be able to
“ form the whole into a regular colony. In a
“ few months subsequently to this arrangement
“ with Captain Stringer, Captain Coney was
“ appointed Governor ; and it was then ordered
“ (without excepting the Governor), that the
“ settlers should derive their subsistence from
“ their lands only, but be allowed a proportion
“ of cattle and slaves to accelerate the cultiva-
“ tion of them, and not entitled to require
“ supplies from the Company’s ships, but to
“ exchange them for fresh provisions ; further,
“ such passengers in the Company’s ships as
“ might be disposed to settle on the island,
“ were to have lands allotted to them for cul-
“ tivation.”

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From the period of Captain Coney’s appoint-
ment until the year 1672, the only authority to
which the author has access for the name of

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any other Governor, is a tradition founded on the memory of the native of Madagascar* already mentioned. Upon his testimony the names have been handed down of the first five Governors, in the following order, viz., Dutton, Stringer, Swallow, Coney, and Bennett. This account, as it respects the two first, entirely agrees with other evidence : and in regard to Captain Coney, only differs by placing between his name and Stringer's, that of Swallow : the latter however, might have been provisionally in charge of the island, for a short period between Stringer's departure or death, and the arrival of Coney ; a supposition not weakened by the name of Richard Swallow appearing as one of the council, after the recapture of the island in 1693. So much of old Will's evidence being thus corroborated, and no part of it, as yet, seeming to be absolutely contradicted, there does not

* Of this man the following memorandum appears in the first page of the consultation-book, commencing June 1735.
 “ Old Will, aged one hundred years, and hath faithfully
 “ served the Company ever since the English had this island,
 “ under the command of twenty-one governors ; and when
 “ he came to this island he brought three yams, nine head of
 “ cattle, and two turtle-doves from Madagascar.” From this account of the cattle brought by Will, it might be inferred he emigrated to St. Helena rather as a free servant, or a settler, than as a slave.

appear any reason to doubt his testimony, that
Captain Coney was succeeded by a Governor
Bennett.

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In the year 1671-2, Mr. Bruce, in his Annals of the East-India Company, states, that orders were sent out to confirm the settlers in their original grants of land ; “ that the town should “ be built on the plan formerly sent out, at a “ distance from the fort, and the market-place “ in its vicinity ; that no boat should be suffer- “ ed to land with more than ten men, whatever “ flag the ship might carry ; that the crew “ should not be permitted to enter the fort or “ make excursions in the island, or to sleep on “ shore ; that the honours of the flag should “ be dispensed with, it not being a royal garri- “ son, and that all disputes respecting salutes “ should be avoided, by complying with them “ to the extent of seven guns only ; that such “ inhabitants as should be called on in the “ defence of the fort should be allowed a “ compensation ; and that provisions should be “ furnished to the Company’s ships only, lest “ the demand might be a stratagem of an enemy, “ by reducing the stock, to facilitate an attack “ on the island.”

In the latter part of the year 1672, whilst

CHAP. II. Captain Anthony Beale (successor to Bennett)

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was governor, the Dutch made an attack, from four of their India ships, upon Lemon Valley, but were assailed by such showers of stones, rolled upon them from the precipices above, that they did not deem it prudent to advance. They re-embarked, and feigned a retreat until night came on, when they were directed by the light of a fire at or near to a landing-place called Bennett's Point, said to have derived that appellation from the planter's name who kept watch with his slave there ; and it has been a commonly received opinion, that the Dutch killed the planter, and that the slave guided them up the country. But from whatever circumstance that landing-place took its name, there is also a report that the master was the guide, and that the slave was put to death, to prevent his evidence, at any subsequent period, of that treachery ; and the latter account is more consistent with a record, dated twelve years after, wherein W. Coxe, a planter, is declared to have been the person who betrayed the island to the Dutch. The party which landed is stated to have amounted to about five hundred men. If the number be not overated, it may be inferred that the attack was premeditated, and not the result of sudden thought in a homeward-bound commodore with only the

crews of four Indiamen at his disposal. However this may be, tradition says that the enemy marched up Swanley Valley ; but this access must have undergone a great change, (apparently from repeated torrents), as very few amongst the most active natives of the island can now pass there without infinite difficulty and danger. Upon gaining the pastures on the heights, report says that they halted to slaughter some cattle, and were afterwards met near High Peak by a detachment from the garrison, when a skirmish ensued, in which the English were overpowered by numbers and routed. The victors then proceeded to Ladder Hill, and marched a party down to attack the fort, where they were repulsed several times ; but as they were in possession of the hill which completely commanded the fort, the English Governor did not deem it tenable, and retired with his people and their most valuable effects on board some English and French ships then in the roads.

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The ship in which the Governor and his followers embarked proceeded to Brazil ; there he hired a sloop for the purpose of cruizing to windward of St. Helena, that all English ships approaching the island might be warned of their danger. In this transaction he was as-

CHAP. II. sisted by a Mr. John Mitford, master of a
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1673. British merchant ship called the Humphrey
and Elizabeth. Amongst the persons who
accompanied Governor Beale, was a planter
named Coulson, and his family, including a
negro slave called Black Oliver. The latter
on arriving at Brazil was sold to a Mr. Abram,
an English merchant, who was prevailed on
to permit Oliver to embark as one of the
sloop's crew, a circumstance which unexpect-
edly contributed to important consequences.

The recapture of St. Helena, by Captain Munden, is mentioned in some publications as an unpremeditated measure; that he had proceeded thither merely to convoy the home-ward-bound ships to England, and that he was not even aware of the island being in the hands of an enemy, until "he came to take in water in the road."* But there is one writer who gives a different account, which appears fully entitled to credit. Dr. John Fryer, a passenger in the East-India Company's ship *Unity*, sailed from the Downs in January 1673, with an India fleet, and many other merchant ships on different voyages. They were convoyed down Channel, and as far as their respec-

* Campbell's Political Survey.

tive destinations admitted of their continuing the same course, by six men of war, including two fire-ships, under the command of Captain Munden. Near St. Jago, all the men of war parted company, making sail for that place: they were ultimately bound to St. Helena, "to meet the East-India fleet, for their better defence homeward-bound, and to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, *who had lately possessed themselves of that island:*" and, in a subsequent part of his book, Dr. Fryer says, that "Captain Munden, by the King's command, was sent out to retake it." The Unity, when off the Cape of Good Hope, in the month of April, met the Johanna, and other homeward-bound ships, to whom the intelligence was imparted that St. Helena had been taken; but that Captain Munden's squadron might be expected there before the Johanna and the ships with her could reach the island. From this account it is evident that Munden knew he was bound to a hostile port.

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In the mean time, the sloop from Brazil had gained her station off St. Helena, in the track of ships approaching it, and upon the 7th May (or according to some, the 14th) she fell in with Captain Munden's squadron, then reduced to his Majesty's ships Assistance,

CHAP. II. Levant, and Castle fire-ship,* with the Company's ship Mary and Martha. Whether the latter had accompanied the squadron from England, or had met with it off St. Helena, is uncertain.† Captain Munden, upon communicating with the sloop, and finding on board her a well qualified guide in Black Oliver, had him removed to his own ship, the Assistance, preparatory to further operations.‡

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* Probably the other three ships of Munden's squadron had been detached in quest of three Dutch men of war, which, having been separated from a force under Admiral Eversdon destined to distress the English plantations at Virginia, had put into St. Jago, but had slipped their cables and departed in great confusion, when the British ships of war appeared in sight of that island. The British men of war had made sail and preceded the Indiamen in approaching St. Jago, but were not found there on the arrival of the latter, who took possession of the anchors and cables the Dutchmen had left behind in their hurry.

† A ship called the William and Thomas, also, must have arrived before Captain Munden's departure, as thirty-seven of her crew were left to form part of the garrison.

‡ The particulars regarding the transfer of Oliver from his former master, Coulson, to Mr. Abram at Brazil, his embarkation in the sloop, his subsequent removal to the Assistance, and his services as a guide, are detailed in the evidence of Mrs. Grace Coulson, nearly forty years after,
upon

Whatever records might have been extant, when the island was taken by the Dutch, must have been either lost or destroyed, or removed by Governor Beale, as it is not known that any were found when the English recovered their possession : but information respecting several occurrences, which happened immediately after that event, had been preserved in some notes and memoranda by a very respectable and intelligent inhabitant, who died at an advanced age, in the year 1769.* As this gentleman must have had opportunities of conversing with those who had a perfect recollection of the circumstances, and as his

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upon a question regarding the title-deeds of certain lands that had been granted to Oliver. This article in the records had escaped the author's observation when he wrote his first edition ; but it explains the circumstances which gave rise to an erroneous belief that Captain Munden must necessarily have acquired his intelligence at *Brazil* ; and such inference was the more natural, as it is recorded that Captain Munden had redeemed Oliver from his *Brazil master*, a fact which, though justly stated, seems however to have been accomplished through the medium of agents, and not by the parties in person.

* The worthy Mr. Richard Beale, a native of the island, who for many years fulfilled the duties of schoolmaster there, with credit to himself and great advantage to the community.

CHAP. II. testimony is corroborated in some material
From its discovery to 1673. points by other evidence, we have no reason
to doubt its correctness.

The Dutch must have kept a bad look-out; for about three o'clock in the morning, a party of two hundred men, under a Captain Kedgwin,* was conducted by Oliver to an opening, which on that occasion acquired its present name, *Prosperous Bay*. They landed quite unobserved, at a place since called *Kedgwin's Rock*, and proceeded to an accessible part of the precipice above the bay, which one of the party ascended, taking with him a ball of twine; to this a rope was afterwards fastened and hauled up, and thus the others were enabled to follow. Whilst he was in the act of climbing the dangerous ascent, his comrades below frequently called to him by name to hold fast, and "*Hold fast, Tom*" is the appellation by which the spot has been ever since known. Jonathan Higham, a soldier

* It is generally supposed that Kedgwin was a Lieutenant belonging to the Assistance, but he is called Captain Kedgwin in the list of persons who were left at St. Helena by Munden. He might, however, have been a Captain of marines, or the title might have been given him upon his being left in command of the island, upon the departure of Captain Munden.

employed on this service, who afterwards settled on the island, was often heard to say, that had twenty men opposed them from above, their advance would have been impracticable. From the present appearance of the place, as well as from the account of the way in which it was ascended, one would suppose that a couple of men, with crow-bars, to loosen and roll down stones, would have been quite sufficient to stop the advance of an enemy. —After the whole detachment had gained the heights, they marched through Long Wood to the place called the Hutts, where they arrived about daybreak, and stopping for refreshment at a farm-house (the ruins of which until lately were visible),* then proceeded to the summit of Rupert's Hill, on the east side of James's Valley ; at the same time, the ships making their appearance before the town, opened "a brisk cannonade, which soon obliged "the Governor to surrender."†

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There is a laboured and improbable tradition that Munden effected his conquest partly by

* A new dwelling now stands on this spot.

† Campbell's Political Survey.

CHAP. II. landing men from off the spritsail yard of his ship, upon Munden's Point, and that the place derives its name from that circumstance. That there are parts of the coast of St. Helena against which a ship might break her jib boom, without her keel touching the ground, is certainly true; because the case actually happened (not intentionally we may be sure), in 1820, to a vessel called the Lady Carrington, near to Buttermilk Point: but it is *at least* doubtful whether a similar event could *possibly* occur at Munden's Point; and very unlikely that, without some very extreme necessity, a commander would risk his ship to effect a disembarkation in so unusual a manner. No such necessity appears to have existed upon the occasion alluded to: the operations for the recapture of the island, as already detailed, would seem to be abundantly sufficient to account for success, without having recourse to extraordinary improbabilities; and it is further to be observed, that even were a party landed upon Munden's Point rocks, they could have had no communication with the town, except by swimming, or climbing a precipice nearly perpendicular. The appellation of *Munden's Point* is much more easily accounted for, from the circumstance of Captain Munden having, before his

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departure, placed two pieces of cannon upon the summit of that eminence which now bears his name.

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The dispossession of the Dutch was not the only loss they sustained on this occasion. Less prompt in their measures to secure their conquest, than the English were to recover it, it had been in full possession of the latter, before the arrival from Holland of a ship called the *Europe*, in which was embarked a Governor, and probably reinforcements for the garrison; but instead of entering upon the duties to which he had been appointed, he was unexpectedly reduced to the less desirable situation of a prisoner of war, the *Europe* becoming a prize to Captain Munden: and by the stratagem of displaying the Dutch flag, six India ships of that nation were soon after decoyed so close in, that their Vice and Rear Admirals were taken, with a quantity of silver on board. The remaining four escaped, through the impatience of the English, who prematurely commenced the attack.

A garrison having been formed of detachments from the different ships, amounting in the whole to one hundred and sixty men, was

CHAP. II. placed under the command of Captain Kedgwin, as governor ; and Captain Munden sailing with his prizes for England, upon his arrival was knighted.

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1679.

In the list of Governors contained in Lieutenant Leech's M.S., the name of Dyke appears as successor to Kedgwin ; but the official records prove that the latter was immediately succeeded by a Captain Field, who had been left under his orders, out of the ship *Levant*, on Sir Richard Munden's departure : it is therefore probable that Dyke was the Dutch officer's name who was in command when the island was taken ; and consequently the predecessor, and not the successor of Kedgwin.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE YEAR 1673 TO THE YEAR 1687.

St. Helena re-granted to the Company by another Charter—Captain Field appointed Governor—Several settlers proceed to the island—Lands assigned them—Nature of the tenures—System of defence—Salaries to the Governor, and other officers and servants—Privilege to Negroes who embraced Christianity—Disturbances—Major Blackmore appointed Governor—Promulgation of various laws and ordinances—Slavery—Duties—Interlopers—Distilleries—Seditious cabals and tumults—Mutineers attack the fort, and are defeated—Two of the insurgents executed—Commission from King James to try the mutineers—Five more executed—Their relations petition the House of Commons—Martial law to be exercised as often as necessary.

AFTER Sir Richard Munden's arrival in England, his Majesty again assigned the possession and government of St. Helena to the East-India Company; and a charter, dated the 16th of December 1673, was granted, constituting them

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Lords proprietors of the island, with the rights and powers of sovereignty.*

Not a moment was lost in fitting out two ships, *viz.* the European, and the John and Alexander, for the conveyance of recruits for the garrison, and a number of passengers, who had accepted the Company's terms of becoming settlers, as also to carry out provisions, and all kinds of necessary stores, for the lodgement of which a wooden house was sent in frame. It does not appear to have been the desire of Captain Kedgwin to remain on the island, as a commission was forwarded, appointing Captain G. Field governor, with a council of four members,† including Captain A. Beale, who was nominated Deputy Governor.‡ They were enjoined to show every possible mark of respect and kindness to Captain Kedgwin, and to procure him a passage, as soon as he found it convenient to return to England; the Company declaring that, upon his arrival there, they would take his services into consideration, and

* See Appendix, B.

† See Appendix, C.

‡ He was, some years after, poisoned by his black servant.

reward him as his merits deserved. Nor was the negro, Black Oliver, who had guided Captain Kedgwin's party, forgotten; Sir Richard Munden represented the assistance derived from his local knowledge in so favourable a light, that the Company not only repaid the expense of Oliver's emancipation, but also made him a free planter, and allowed him land and cattle in the same proportion as was granted to European inhabitants. Those planters who had held lands on the island prior to its capture by the Dutch, were restored to their possessions. To every family that arrived in the two ships above-mentioned, as also to some others who soon followed, were assigned twenty acres of land and two cows. Those settlers who preferred a residence on the windward side of the island, were permitted to have double the quantity of land assigned to those who inhabited other parts; and every assistance which the Company could furnish, whether in seeds, plants, breeding stock, labour, or instruction, was freely given to promote the improvements of the industrious. Provisions were issued gratis to the planters for the period of nine months. It was supposed that at the expiration of that time their farms would afford them a livelihood, and they were thenceforward

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required to pay for their provisions, &c., at the invoice prices.

In the year 1679 it was ordained, that when a soldier desired to become a free planter, if he married a planter's widow, and became entitled to her deceased husband's land, he should further be allowed ten acres and one cow from the Company; and in the event of his marrying a farmer's daughter, or a young woman sent out from England, who had no land, he was in such case to have twenty acres and two cows. Every unmarried man, sent out from England as a settler, was to have ten acres of land and one cow; and ten acres more and another cow, on his marrying a planter's daughter, or an Englishwoman. If a planter's son married an Englishwoman during his father's life-time, he became entitled to twenty acres and two cows; but if the marriage took place after his father's death, the son being possessed of the whole, or a part, of his father's land, he was then to have only ten acres and one cow. A planter's son, or any Englishman, resident on the island (not being in the Company's pay, nor having been assigned lands), was allowed, on his marrying a planter's widow, ten acres and one cow, if his

wife had children living by her former husband; but if she had no child, a further allotment was not granted. One cow, at least, was required to be maintained on every ten acres of land; and if a farm was not occupied and improved within twelve months after possession, or if, being occupied, it became deserted for six months, in either of these cases, it was liable to be seized by the Company, and granted to a more industrious person. Some who were dispossessed of their lands in this manner, were ordered to be sent off the island, as *drones*. No lands could be sold, or disposed of by the proprietors, until after they improved and occupied them for a certain period, which at first was fixed at four years, than at seven, and, in 1683, at five years. For every ten acres of land the holder was obliged to maintain an Englishman on the premises, capable of bearing arms for the defence of the island, who was occasionally to do garrison duty; and for every twenty acres two men were required to be maintained, one of whom was to take his turn in mounting guard. This service was commuted, in the year 1683, for a pecuniary consideration of two shillings an acre, which was afterwards reduced to one; but the planters were not in consequence exempted from bearing arms, in common with all other persons, when danger was

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apprehended, or from appearing as train-bands at general musters, on penalty of being fined according to the extent of their offence. Upon these several conditions lands were granted in perpetuity to the holders, their heirs, and successors; and a register was kept of all grants and alienations.

The accession of settlers from England formed, in a very short time, a tolerably numerous militia; a kind of force with which the Company intended the island should be garrisoned, in preference to regular troops. Orders were, in consequence, sent out to reduce the number of soldiers to fifty, and to allow the remainder the option either of becoming planters or returning to England.

In the allotment of ground to individuals for building houses in Chapel Valley, attention was paid to the regular formation of a street, the situation of which was directed to be above any fortification that might be constructed for the defence of the landing-place and harbour. Pointed directions were also given for fortifying the island, and placing the principal magazine in a central situation. A repetition of these orders, some years after, was accompanied by an injunction, to consult all captains of ships

(merchantmen, as well as men of war) on the best system of defence to be adopted. These orders and consultations were followed by the construction, under different Governors and engineers, of lines thrown across valleys; and, in later times, of two or three batteries, at some little elevation above the sea. Though these batteries were sufficiently calculated to act against the approach of shipping, or boats, they could have little effect upon an enemy if he succeeded in carrying the lines above mentioned, which required a strong garrison for their defence. But more than a century was suffered to elapse before the obvious advantages that nature presented in the heights, were regarded in any other view, than as the means of affording a look-out. This oversight appears the more extraordinary, as experience, in the capture and re-capture of the island, had shown the inefficacy of a fort commanded on either side, and proved that works at the foot of one part of a hill formed no defence for its summit against the approach of an enemy from another quarter

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The regular garrison was, at first, embodied into two companies, of which one was commanded by the Governor, and the other by the Deputy-Governor; but when the standing force was reduced to fifty men, its formation appears

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to have been one company. The soldiers were quartered on the inhabitants, at the rate of ten shillings a month for each man. The principal persons in office usually filled both civil and military situations. The Deputy-Governor was Captain of a company, and Store-keeper. The Third in Council, a subaltern officer, and Surveyor-general. The Clerk of the Council, or Secretary, frequently held the rank of Ensign; and, in some instances, voted as a member; and the Store-keeper's Assistant was sometimes a commissioned officer, and sometimes a Serjeant. Such of the Council as were not upon the regular military establishment, held brevet commissions under the Governor's signature, and were assigned military commands in all cases of general alarm. Even so late as the year 1743 we find orders from the Company to continue this practice. The immediate charge and superintendence of the Company's lands and plantations were, for some years, intrusted to the Governor. From the produce of these lands was maintained a public table, at which not only the Governor and Council, and principal servants and officers, but even the head artificers, and Serjeant of the guard, sat in the order of their respective ranks.* Nor was this

* Extract from general letter to England, dated 3d November 1718:—

“ Formerly,

strange custom abolished until Captain Poirier succeeded to the government, which was in the year 1697. The emoluments annexed to the different ranks and offices, in Captain Field's government, were as follows :—

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Captain Field, as Governor and Captain of a company, fifty pounds ; gratuity, fifty pounds—One hundred pounds per annum.

“ Formerly, the Serjeants, and the Marshal, and Smith, used to dine with the Governor ; but, by being complained of by many of the Commanders, Governor Poirier did alter it, and we have not brought these people in again ; and this Governor is of opinion, that nobody ought to sit at table with him that is not cleanly drest, and that has an infectious distemper on him, or that is drunk.”

Extract from the Board Resolution, dated the 8th October, 1717 :—

“ Likewise, in the Governor's absence, there shall stand a salt upon the table, which shall be placed below the Council and Chaplain. Those who sit above that salt, shall always drink as they think proper, either wine or punch ; but those who sit below that salt, shall have, to two persons, one common bowl of punch (which contains about three pints) ; if but three, the same ; if four, two ; if five, no more ; and if six persons, three bowls of punch ; or, in case of wine instead thereof, one bottle for each bowl of punch.”

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Captain Beale, Deputy-Governor, Captain and Store-keeper, fifty pounds.*

Lieutenants, two pounds ten shillings per month.

Ensigns, two pounds ditto.

Serjeants, one pound ditto.

Gunner, besides his diet, two pounds ditto.

Gunner's Mates, besides their diet, one pound ten shillings ditto.

Private soldiers, eighteen shillings ditto.

Mr. Swindle, the Minister, fifty pounds; as Schoolmaster, twenty-five pounds; gratuity, twenty-five pounds—One hundred pounds per annum.

* Twenty pounds per annum was added to this allowance, in the year 1683, when Captain Holden was appointed Deputy-Governor, Lieutenant of the garrison, Second in Council, Store-keeper general, and Customer. Mr. G. Field was, at the same time, appointed Ensign of the garrison, Third in Council, and Surveyor-general of the Company's buildings and plantations, at the salary of fifty pounds per annum.

Mr. More, the Chirurgeon, twenty-five pounds ; gratuity, twenty-five pounds—Fifty pounds per annum.

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The Minister and Surgeon, besides their diet at the Governor's table, were each allowed the same proportion of land as other settlers.

The Minister was directed to instruct and catechise the children of Negroes, as well as white persons ; and any Negroes resident on the island, who publicly embraced the Christian faith, and received baptism, if the Governor and Council and Minister judged them sufficiently meritorious, were to be entitled, seven years after, to the privilege of free planters. A place of public worship was, in a short time, erected, in Chapel Valley ; and, in a few years after, a contribution was raised for building a church in the country. A free market was likewise established, for the accommodation of the shipping and inhabitants.

The first regulations for the government and management of the island were scarcely arranged, when discontents were excited by some incendiaries, who persuaded many that the Company, contrary to agreement, intended to transport them to Bombay, and that the soldiers were

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cheated of their diet, which it was alleged they ought to receive in addition to their pay. The disturbances thus created proceeded to such lengths as to be denominated mutiny in the official dispatches on that subject. Peace and order, however, seem to have been restored without much difficulty; and the pay of the soldiers was afterwards increased to twenty-one shillings per month. But the flame had not been smothered above five years, when a spirit of insubordination, heightened by the excessive use of intoxicating liquors, broke out into violence and riot. This insurrection ended in the banishment of the principal ringleaders, and the dismissal of two Members of Council, who shamefully abandoned their trust, by countenancing illegal meetings.

In the year 1676, the island was visited by the celebrated Dr. Halley, for the purpose of completing the catalogue of fixed stars by the addition of those near the south pole. His observations were prosecuted from the hill which now bears his name, and previous to his departure, he had an opportunity of distinctly seeing a transit of Mercury over the sun's disk. This gave rise to the suggestions inserted in the Philosophical Transactions, which induced the astronomers of Europe to watch with greater

attention the memorable transit of Venus in 1761.

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Captain Field having applied for permission to resign, and return to England, Major John Blackmore was appointed his successor, and arrived at the island on the 19th of July 1678. Captain Field was directed to have a seat in Council until the time of his embarkation. At the commencement of Major Blackmore's government, a number of additional orders and instructions were transmitted by the Company, for the conduct of their affairs, and the administration of justice. Nor was due attention to the inculcation of virtue and morality neglected. The Minister was urgently enjoined to a strict and conscientious discharge of his duties; and the Council exhorted to encourage religion by their example, as well as authority. A court of Judicature was erected, of which the Governor was the sole judge; its sittings were ordered to be held four times a year. A system of laws, drawn, for the most part, from those established at Bombay, was at first framed for the island; but as they were calculated for a settlement infinitely more populous than St. Helena, which then did not contain above five hundred inhabitants, it was shortly afterwards judged expedient to proceed by jury, only in cases affect-

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ing life, limb, or land ; leaving matters of less import to be settled before the Governor and Council, who were recommended not to have their “heads troubled with nice poynts of the
“ common law of England ; but rather, on considering the reason of things, to adjudge of
“ all cases in a summary way, according to
“ equity and a good conscience, without tedious
“ delays, or countenancing litigious persons in
“ their vexatious prosecutions.”* Subjects discussed at this Board were decided by a majority of voices ; but if the members were equally divided, lots determined the question. This rule was followed until the year 1747, when it was ordered that the Governor should have a casting vote. In cases where they were not unanimous, the dissenting members were directed to enter their sentiments at large on the proceedings, for the information of the Court of Directors. It was in the power of the Governor to suspend any one of the Council, for negligence or misconduct ; but this authority, in the year 1721, was transferred to the majority of the Council ; by whom alone suspensions could be

* For farther particulars in respect to the laws in force upon the island, previous to the introduction of regular military courts, and courts of Oyer and Terminer, &c., the reader is referred to the Appendix, D.

awarded. The vacancy could not be filled without express orders from the Company; nor could any person have a vote at the Board, unless the appointment issued from the same authority. Governor Blackmore was reproved for assuming this power in favour of two free planters. All Commanders of the Company's ships were, at first, directed to sit in Council, during their stay at the island, and to have precedence next the Governor. It was afterwards decreed, that they should have only a deliberative voice, but no vote; and finally it was determined, that none should either sit or vote at the Board, without a special appointment. Regular meetings were held by the Council, as the guardians of orphans and their estates; but, as intermarriages took place among the settlers, and the degrees of kindred upon the island were, consequently, in the course of forty or fifty years, considerably extended, there was seldom any want of relations upon the spot, to take charge of the children and effects of deceased persons; and the Orphan's Court, as it became unnecessary, gradually fell into disuse.

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A peculiarity in the laws respecting inheritance, entitled a widow to half her deceased husband's freehold estate during her natural life; the other half, together with the reversion of the

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wife's share, was, after her death, disposed of according to the husband's last will and testament, or in case of intestacy, to the heir at law. One-third of an intestate's personal property went to his widow; the other two-thirds were divided, in equal proportions, among the children resident on the island. In case there were no children, then one-half went to the wife and the other half to the brothers and sisters or their children, inhabitants on the island, but if there were no such, then all to the wife; and, in case there was neither wife nor child, the whole went to the next of kindred inhabiting the island.* If by will, or otherwise, lands devolved to any person in England, who did not, within two years, either repair to the island

* Doubts having, of late years, arisen, whether this law ought or ought not to be considered obsolete, the question was submitted to the Company's Solicitor, who gave the following opinion:

“ Real property, that is lands and houses, is in all cases
 “ of intestacy to follow the course of descent established, and
 “ in all things to be subject to the laws and customs of the
 “ island; and that as to personal property, that is every
 “ thing but the lands and houses, the succession to that is
 “ to be regulated according to the domicil of the deceased:
 “ if he was a fixed resident within the island, by the laws and
 “ customs of the island; if he was there only as a sojourner,
 “ not being at home, it would be regulated by the laws of the
 “ place of his established residence.”

himself, or cause the lands to be inhabited by two persons, and maintain on them at least two cows, the estate, in such case, reverted to the Company.

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In the course of a very few years, about two thousand two hundred acres of land became vested in the hands of individuals, either by free grants, or by leases for sixty years, at the rate of two shillings an acre; and the stock of black cattle rapidly increased. Until the year 1721, beef was supplied to the ships from the Company's stock of cattle, in preference to that of the Planters, who bartered their oxen to them in exchange for necessaries from the public stores; a measure that was justly considered as an accommodation to both parties. Such was the scarcity of specie, that copper bars passed as current coin, and dollars were valued at six shillings. As the colony was in a very flourishing condition, it became no longer necessary for the Company to supply provisions for the inhabitants at invoice prices. It was in consequence determined, that nineteen per cent. should be charged on all stores imported from England,* besides interest on the money which

* By the manner in which this determination was expressed, it would appear that its operation must have been very inconvenient

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should be laid out in the purchase ; and twenty per cent. on Indian commodities.

All descriptions of persons were obliged to afford one day's labour in the year, or an equivalent in money, for the repair of the highways; two surveyors of which, and two churchwardens (one for each church), were chosen by the Governor, out of four persons, elected every Easter-Monday, by a majority of the free planters. No lessee, shopkeeper, or artificer, had a voice in the election of any island or parish officer.

inconvenient to the inhabitants. The following is the extract from the letter upon that subject :—

“ And, that our free planters and leasees may always have
 “ a meanes of supplying themselves with English servants,
 “ and all commodities of England and Europe, as cheap,
 “ or cheaper, than the planters off Barbadoes and Jamacoe
 “ can have them, now they are, God be praised, in a
 “ condition to purchase them, wee shall send you yearly
 “ one or two ships, or more, as our island shall encrease ;
 “ the planters agreeing amonge themselves to send us over
 “ yearly one or two honest persons, of their number, that
 “ shall engage, within the compase of the yeare after such
 “ ships arrivall att the island of St. Helena, to pay the
 “ Company their just disbursements of whatsoever they
 “ shall write, as Thos. Smoult now hath done, together
 “ with nineteen per cent. advance upon the just cost, freight,
 “ and charge here.”—*Letter dated the 1st of August 1683.*

That privilege was confined to the free planters and their heirs, whom the Company, in the following words, declared that “they would always esteem and honour as the first occupants, and gentlemen freeholders of the island, for such it was hoped their heirs would prove to be, and to have estates sufficient to maintain the dignity of that title, and defend their country on horseback.”

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The introduction of slavery appears to have been coeval with the first settlement of the island, or very soon after. In the year 1679, restrictions were laid upon the further importation of slaves, from an apprehension of danger, should their number, which was then about eighty, exceed, in any considerable degree, that of the Europeans. But, in four years after, permission to renew this traffic was granted, on condition that for every Negro the purchaser should either maintain a white militia-man, or pay at the rate of ten shillings a head to the Company for each slave; and, in addition to other duties, every Madagascar ship that touched for refreshment, was obliged to leave one Negro, a man or a woman, at the Governor's election, for the service of the Company's plantations. The law which declared that no person should be deprived of life or limb without a trial by

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jury, did not comprise an exception or specification in respect to inhabitants of any description whatever; but, as the benefit of this law did not extend to blacks, it would appear that the benign sentiments at first expressed in favour of this class of people were forgotten, and that they were not considered as human creatures. It may, indeed, be inferred, that, for a long period, some such opinion actually did prevail; as it might on any other supposition, seem extraordinary that a black striking, even in the act of self-defence, any white person, should be consigned to a most horrid and detestable mutilation.* From the constant dread of insurrections among the blacks, it seems probable that these severities had little effect in maintaining that subordination and regularity of conduct, which the experience of later years has proved to be more easily attained by a milder system.

Besides the Negro which every English vessel trading to Madagascar was obliged to leave on the island, each ship paid a duty of two shillings and six-pence for every ton of her admeasurement; and, in common with all others, the sum of five shillings anchorage! From this charge, however, the Dutch were exempted, as long as

* See Appendix, E.

a similar exemption was allowed to the English East-Indiamen at the Cape of Good Hope. Ships in the Company's service were further obliged to deliver, on their arrival, a barrel of gunpowder; a practice which has continued to the present time. But heavier duties were levied on interlopers; a term applied to all British subjects who traded to India in defiance of the Company's charter. According to orders, sent out in the year 1683, the ships of interlopers were not to be supplied with water or refreshment, until they paid, in money or goods, to the value of twenty shillings per ton. Two years prior to this enactment, the law, with respect to interlopers, was still more severe. No refreshment was allowed them, unless they agreed to resign ship and cargo to the Company's disposal. In this case, the private property of the commander and officers was to be secured to them, and an offer made, either to entertain them and the crew in the Company's service, or procure them a passage to England. Until such a surrender was made, all traffic and communication between them and the inhabitants were prohibited, under the penalty of twenty pounds from a Member of Council, and ten from any other person in the island, who should disregard these orders. The principle on which these regulations were founded, was afterwards

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applied to British subjects who traded to India under the protection of foreign flags. Many ships, under Ostend colours, were refused any kind of refreshment, scarcely allowed water sufficient to preserve the lives of their crews, and were even fired upon, to prevent their entry into the Roads, or to hasten their departure! The subject was, at last, brought before Parliament, and, by an Act of George the First, this kind of clandestine and illicit commerce was checked, and the Company established in their chartered rights. Some of the interlopers became such active abettors of mutiny and sedition, that a commission was sent out by King James the Second for seizing all ships belonging to persons of that description. In returning the salutes of foreign ships, it was directed, that no more than seven guns should at any time, be fired, and only three to ships in the Company's service; but interlopers were not, on any account whatever, to be saluted.*

* Extract from orders and instructions, dated 1st of August 1683:

“ Wee finde, by the list of guns fired, sent us by Capt.
 “ Beale, three hundred and odd guns, which is so strange a
 “ waste, that we could not think our Governor would have
 “ bin guilty of; especially considering that island cost us
 “ forty thousand pounds, without one penny proffit, hither-
 “ too, more than refreshment to our ships, which all strang-
 “ ers

In addition to the taxes already mentioned, a toll of twopence was levied on each ox, or neat beast, that was sold ; and for every ox, or other beast, sold, and sent on board ship,* sixpence.

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For every hundred weight of sugar landed, sixpence.

For every hogshead of arrack, ten shillings.

For every hogshead of wine, ten shillings.

For every piece of calico, sixpence.

For every piece of silk, one shilling.

“ ers have had as well as ourselves. But most impudent it was to salute interlopers ; and as vile for our Minister, “ Mr. Church (if our information be true), to be first on board the interloper Pitts, that came in last voyage, and “ to entertain him at his house.”

* “ If any ox, or other beast, sold, and not duly entered in the Company’s toll-book, the bargain is to be null and voyd ; and so are all bargains for house or land, if not registered as aforesaid ; and, in case of such omission, the seller and the buyer of any house or land unregistered shall pay the Company double fees for registering an alienation of any such house or land, so clandestinely sold or alienated.”—*Extract from the Company’s early orders.*

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For every beast pastured on the Company's waste land,* one shilling.

And a poll-tax of sixpence a head upon every person above the age of sixteen, for the purpose of paying the Minister, and repairing the church.

A constant succession of showers is more ne-

* “ And we do hereby strictly forbid all persons upon
“ the island from suffering any cattle to stray, as our laws
“ saith, to be levant and couchant upon the Company's
“ waste land; except such only as shall be first marked
“ with the Company's pitch-brand, which we send you
“ herewith; the cattle suffered to feed with the Company's
“ being to be marked May-day, every year, or some other
“ certain days, as the Governor shall direct; and the
“ owners of every beast are to pay the Company twelve-
“ pence per head, for being suffered to graze one year upon
“ the Company's waste land.

“ And tho' we shall esteem (as all Lords of Mannors do),
“ till fine and ransom be made at the Lord's pleasure, all
“ cattle found upon the Company's waste to be the Com-
“ pany's own proper goods and chattels, that have not the
“ Company's wast-mark, or pitch-brand, upon them; yet
“ we think it very requisite that all the Company's cattle
“ should be marked on each horne with a burnt mark, to
“ the end that if any of them (by ill men) should be killed,
“ or dye, the skyn may be known to be the Company's
“ when they are sold.”—*Extract from the Company's early orders.*

cessary for the process of vegetation in a hilly country, like St. Helena, than on flat grounds ; and, from the idea which prevails that trees on the summits of mountains have an attractive influence on the clouds, as well as from considerations of the value of timber, the preservation of wood was deemed an object of great importance. To effect this end, regulations were, at various times, framed. A great quantity was, however, consumed, by distilling spirits from potatoes ; a manufacture in which many stills upon the island were employed, which was a source of considerable internal traffic, and doubtless occasioned many abuses and disorders. If a total suppression of such license was not necessary, some control, at least, must surely have been proper. Accordingly an impost was levied of twelpence for every hundred weight of wood appropriated to distillation, besides fourpence for every gallon of liquor.

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A spirit of opposition was again manifested in the colony, proceeding partly from the exaction of taxes which the inhabitants deemed oppressive ; but chiefly from a want of energy in the Government. Secret murmurings soon increased to illegal and seditious meetings ; and, as no decisive or vigorous measures seem to have been enforced by the Government for

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checking these disorders, every unpopular regulation, as might be expected, added fuel to the flame, and encouraged the malcontents to continue their tumultuous proceedings.* Affairs, at length, wore so threatening an aspect, that the Company determined to transmit orders for all Commanders of their returning ships to remain at the island during any period (not exceeding one month) that the Governor should think necessary, in order that their ships' companies

* Thomas Eastings, a distinguished actor in these scenes, was proved to have broken into a house, for the purpose of procuring arms : for this, and other offences, he was afterwards sent off in a ship bound for England. Whatever severity might, in the opinion of Governor Blackmore, have been attached to this punishment, the Company blamed the mildness of the sentence in the following words :—"Your banishment of Thomas Eastings is likewise such a silly piece of pageantry, instead of a banishment, that we are ashamed our aged Governor should be guilty of so great a folly. We know runagadoes, young fellows, love to be rambling, and believe, if the fellow had committed no fault deserving death or imprisonment, he would have thanked the Governor for giving him such an opportunity to satisfy his humour of changing place. The wise Dutch never banish white men out of India ; for, to send home such to any part of Europe, is rather a reward than a punishment. And therefore we forbid you, now and for ever hereafter, to mock the justice of your island with such sham banishment as sending delinquents home to their own country."

might assist in maintaining subordination. Before these injunctions were forwarded, however, tranquillity had been once more restored; but the calm was of short duration. These troubles were rather fomented than repressed, by the turbulent disposition of Doctor Sault, the chaplain. He scurrilously insulted the Council, contemned their authority, and, by his disrespectful and insolent demeanour, to which Government too tamely submitted, fostered a discontent productive of the most serious and alarming mutiny that had hitherto disturbed the settlement. It may here be observed, that, notwithstanding the Company had spared neither expense, ordinances, nor exhortations, to promote virtue and religion, their intentions were, in a great measure, frustrated, by the behaviour of a succession of clergymen, whose principles and conduct counteracted the intention of their sacred profession.* One of these gentlemen was censured, in the Company's official correspond-

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* This observation is to be understood as applying to the earlier period of the history. With regard to the present, Clergymen, the indefatigable labours of the Rev. Richard Boys, in superintending the education and religious instruction of the blacks and lower orders, are producing incalculable benefits to the community; and the preaching and practice of the junior chaplain, the Rev. B. J. Vernon, are such as are every way befitting his sacred calling.

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ence, as an “encroaching, avaricious person ;” and was threatened to be dismissed, and sent to England, for refusing to marry a couple after the Governor had signed the license.* Another, having a pique against his neighbour, swore he would have his blood. For this, and his drunkenness, he was bound over to his good behaviour. A third was fined for performing the marriage ceremony without the Governor’s license, and against the consent of a parent. A fourth proved an incendiary and a drunkard, and persevered in the most aggravating and daring insolence to the Governor, until the reprehension of the Company, and repeated fines, reduced him to better order. A fifth, a man of very low origin, made the pulpit a channel for declamation against Government, whose orders for the regular performance of his duty he disobeyed ; and,

* “And if it be true, as we have been informed, that he did refuse to marry Mr. Smoult’s daughter upon the liscence of the Governor, it is a great signe of his weakness, as of his pride. For, if he understands our constitution, he must knowe that noe lawes are of force in that island till they are lawes made by us. And therefore, if any Minister shall refuse to marry any couple upon our Governor’s liscence, we would have our Governor and Council immediately to dismiss him from our service, and send him home.” — *Extract from orders, dated 1st Aug. 1683, par. 74.*

by his contumacy, disturbed the peace of the community, and set the whole island in a ferment. Four persons were convicted by a jury, and punished by fine or pillory, for circulating papers for general signature, in support of the Chaplain, and reflecting on the conduct of the Governor. A sixth was obliged to relinquish his appointment from habitual drunkenness. A seventh was represented as a sot and a liar. An eighth was notorious for his irregularity of conduct. In short, for a period of sixty years, the inhabitants could with difficulty separate insubordination or profligacy from the character of their ministers. Without attempting to comment on an extraordinary expression of an elegant author, that, "to a philosophic eye, the *vices of the Clergy are far less dangerous than their virtues*,"* it may, nevertheless, be remarked, that even political inconvenience may sometimes result from their vices, however preferable, in the eye of modern philosophy, to their virtues.

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In the year 1684, Captain Holden filled the appointments of Deputy-Governor, and Store-keeper; and, whilst officiating in the latter capacity, at the stores, was interrupted and im-

* Gibbon's Roman Empire, vol. ix. p. 199.

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peded, in a most extraordinary manner, by Allen Dennison, a soldier, whose conduct, on former occasions, had been marked by turbulence and audacity. Captain Holden, instead of confining him for disrespectful behaviour to his officer, continued to bear with his insolence, and even condescended to reason with him. Upon Dennison's reviling the Company in scurrilous terms, Captain Holden reminded him, that he, and all others on the island, were amenable to the Company and their laws, as well as to the King. Nothing material happened until about five weeks after, when, at a general muster, Dennison, by a wilful misconstruction of Captain Holden's words above mentioned, accused him publicly of treason, in saying, "we are not His Majesty's subjects, but the Company's." Holden appeared before the Governor and Council, to answer the charge; but a very short investigation sufficed to reverse the situation of the accuser and the accused, and Dennison was committed to custody. This hastened matters to a crisis. After a few consultations among the malcontents, about sixty of them, soldiers and planters, armed with staves, musquets, and swords, assembled in a tumultuous manner; and, to give some colour to their outrageous intentions, endeavoured to make it appear that the Government was setting up an authority in-

dependent of the Crown. Until the year 1687, the only flag displayed at the fort, or at any other quarter of the island, was the Company's. Of this circumstance the mutineers availed themselves, and with a flag, made in imitation of the King's, marched downwards, saying they were for the King, and such other exclamations: but, whatever sincerity might have been in such professions, the loyalty of some of these reformers appears to have been blended with other views; for, in the event of success, it had been arranged that John Sich should be appointed governor, John Coleson deputy-governor, and Thomas Bolton keeper of the stores. Their associates were chiefly persons who had taken part in former disturbances. One of them is particularized in the records, as a "fifth monarchy-man, engaged in Venner's rebellion;" another, as a person who had formerly been accused of felony; and among the number was included William Cox, mentioned in the preceding chapter as having betrayed the island to the Dutch in the year 1672. When they approached the fort, the Governor endeavoured to bring them to reason, and commanded the soldiers to return to their allegiance, and obey his orders; but in vain. They demanded Dennison's release; and told the Governor, if he did not deliver up "*that traitor, Holden,*" they

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would have him also ; and immediately proceeded to attack the fort. In attempting to force the gate they were fired upon by the guard, and three of their number were killed, and fourteen wounded. Upon this they retreated, and the remainder of the day passed without any further disturbance. The Governor receiving information that some of the principal mutineers had retired to the house of William Bowyer,* one of their leaders, a serjeant's party was sent, the same night, to secure them ; but, on arriving at the house, the mutineers called to arms ; upon which the party fired in at the windows, killed one man, wounded another, and seized six more, among whom was Bowyer himself. After the services rendered by Black Oliver, and the rewards which had been justly conferred on him, it is unpleasant to relate, that he had unfortunately joined in this mutiny, and was one of those who were shot in the attack upon the fort. About two months after these events, the arrival of the ship *Royal James* afforded the means of impanneling an impartial jury, which was composed of the Captain and officers of that ship, together with some non-commissioned officers belonging to the garrison.

* This house was situated in that part of the island called Broad Bottom.

William Bowyer, Joseph Clarke, Joseph Ousman, and Robert More, were indicted, on the 23d of December, 1684, for sedition and mutiny. The three former refused to plead, objecting to be tried before any other tribunal than the King's Bench, in England. They were all four found guilty; and, when asked if they had any thing to offer in arrest of judgment, the two former again objected to the legality of the Court; and Bowyer observed, that he had read the Company's charter, but could perceive no clause in it that authorized his being deprived of life. Ousman and More begged the mercy of the Court, and their sentences were changed into banishment; but Bowyer and Clarke, after a respite of some days, were hanged. Others of the insurgents having been secured, within a week or two, were likewise brought to trial, when Joseph Clarke, sen., James Johnson, Thomas Browne, and Samuel Callis, were found guilty, and sentence of death passed on the two former. Execution, however, did not follow; and they were all four, with More, Dennison, and Ousman, sent to Barbadoes. The Government also seized the arms of all others who had been of the number that assailed the fort; and the Commander of every ship that arrived, was cautioned against permitting any improper communication between the ship's company and the

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island ; for, though the mutineers had been defeated in their open insurrection, their dispositions yet remained unsubdued, and secret cabals were still continued.

In a new charter from King Charles the Second, dated the 9th of August, 1683, a clause* was inserted, empowering the Company to exercise martial law in their different settlements. But as, from the dispatches by the ship Royal James, the condition of St. Helena appeared in so critical a state, that it was doubtful whether the island might be in the possession of the Government, or of the mutineers, special and extraordinary powers were deemed necessary to stop the progress of further mischief. About this time, Sir John Weybourn, Knt., was preparing to take his passage, in the ship London, as Deputy-Governor of Bombay, in command of a company of foot. The London was destined to stop at St. Helena ; and King James the Second ordered a proclamation to be published there, in case it should be found that the mutineers were masters of the island, and that the force sent out was not adequate to their reduction, containing a free pardon to all who should return to their allegiance within twenty-four hours

* See Appendix, F

after the offer of the proposed terms. His Majesty likewise directed a commission to the Governor and Council, in conjunction with Sir John Weybourn, Captain Eaton, of the London, and the subaltern officers of Sir John's company, to make war upon the mutineers, if they were in arms, and reduce them by force; and, after trying the aggressors by a court-martial, if they were duly convicted, to inflict sentence of death on twelve of the offenders, whose names were excepted out of the pardon above mentioned; including William Cox, in consequence of having "formerly betrayed the island to the Dutch." Upon the arrival of the London, the commission was put in effect, and fourteen of the mutineers condemned, five of whom were executed; the remaining nine were reprieved until further instructions should be obtained respecting them, and, in the mean while, were liberated from close custody.

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Soon after these occurrences, a Captain Hord, who was said to have been sent from Bombay for mutiny, arrived at St. Helena. Finding the state of affairs on the island suited to his propensities, he succeeded, by inflammatory conversation, so far to gain the confidence of the disaffected, that he at last ventured to suggest a project, which he persuaded them would very

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much advance their interest, and do away all their grievances. His proposal was, to procure the dismissal of Mr. Blackmore, and the appointment of himself as Governor. A petition to this effect, addressed to His Majesty, was accordingly prepared for general signature; but intimation of the design having reached Government, and it appearing that two of the condemned persons, *viz.* G. Shelton and Gabriel Powel, had been active abettors in the conspiracy, they were immediately committed to prison. The former died in confinement; the latter, soon after, effected his escape in the ship Rochester; and Hord, and his principal accomplices, were banished the island.

The relations of the executed persons were by no means satisfied that the proceedings of the King, the Company, or the Governor and Council, were either just or necessary; and some of them forwarded a petition to the House of Commons, representing the events that had taken place in such a light as they conceived would best obtain their object. If the copy of the petition preserved on the island be correct, the overt act of rebellion in attacking the fort was glossed over, and denominated an application for redress of their grievances, which they stated to consist in exorbitant taxation, and the

imposition of copper-bars upon the inhabitants, by the Company, as coin, which they alleged were refused to be received in return. No evidence appears to have been offered in support of such an improbable assertion; nor could they urge that any petition or memorial had preceded the violence of the insurgents. The address closed with a request that those concerned in procuring the commission for a court-martial might be brought to condign punishment; that the Governor and Captain Holden might be called home, to answer for their conduct; that restitution might be made of all property forfeited, whether real or personal; that proper care might be taken of the seven men under condemnation; and that the taxes of which they complained might be remitted.* According to Anderson's History of Commerce, the House of Commons passed a resolution, declaring the Company to have acted in an arbitrary and illegal manner, which raised a considerable degree of popular clamour against them; but nothing further seems to have resulted from the application. No taxes were taken off, except half the land-tax; and the Governor and Council were directed to remind the inhabitants that they were liable to be governed by martial law when-

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* See Appendix, G.

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ever it might be deemed necessary;* but the laws in the civil code which adjudged the punishment of death, were expunged by the Company in all cases, except that of wilful murder. The property, both real and personal, of those convicted, was forfeited to the Company; yet, with the exception of the free lands, it was restored

* Extracts from orders and instructions, dated the 3d of August, 1687 :—

“ Make it your business to undeceive those ignorant inhabitants by convincing them, as the truth is, that we are intrusted by his Majesty with the exercise of sovereign power in that island, as well legislative as executive, and that we will govern them, as well as our souldiers, by martial law, as often as we, or you, find it necessary, and as the Dutch do in their colonies in India.

“ And that you do make an extract of all our said orders, and enter them in a book, to be always laying on your Councill table, or at hand, and to be read by any of our Councill, and made publick to all inhabitants of that island (during his Majestie’s pleasure) as good laws, as Magna Charta is to England; and he that thinks it to be otherwise, doth but discover his own ignorance; all foreign planters being indisputably subject to his Majestie’s dispotical power, which whoever doubts may easily be satisfied by looking into our statute book, where he will soon observe that our English acts of Parliament extend no further than to the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed; neither is the municipall, or common law of England, of any further extent.”

to the widows and orphans ; and the seven men under condemnation, whose lives were spared at the intercession of the Company, received an equivalent for the freehold estates, upon their agreeing to remove, with their families (at their own expense), to Bombay. The lands which thus reverted to the Company were ordered to be leased out for the term of twenty-one years; but were prohibited from being granted in perpetuity, as it was judged that too many freeholders were already on the island. No inhabitant was permitted to keep arms in his house without the Governor's license ; and the Company resolved to change the system, and rely for the defence of the island more upon a regular garrison than upon a militia. The construction of barracks was ordered, that the soldiers might be separated from the planters as much as possible. The King's flag was directed to be hoisted, and a proper respect to it enforced.

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CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE YEAR 1687 TO THE YEAR 1708.

Various plans for improving the island suggested—All fail—Price of provisions in the year 1707—Jealousies with which the Company's prerogatives were guarded—Shoals and banks in the neighbourhood of the island—Design of forming a settlement at Tristan d'Acunha—Design abandoned—Death of Governor Blackmore—Captain Johnson succeeds as Governor—Is assassinated by part of his garrison, who plunder the treasury, and make their escape—Captain Kelinge's government—An insurrection of the Blacks—Governor Kelinge's death, and succession of Governor Poirier—Distilleries suppressed—Two Company's ships cut out of the Roads—Death of Governor Poirier, and succession of Mr. Goodwin—Arrival of Governor Roberts.

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WHEN the persecution of the reformed religion, in France, under Lewis the Fourteenth, forced many valuable subjects of that country to seek refuge in distant climes, the little island of St. Helena, notwithstanding the late disturbances there, was deemed a desirable asylum by Captain Poirier, who, with a large family, ar-

rived on the 6th of January 1689. This gentleman was recommended to the attention of the Governor and Council as a good and worthy character, and was appointed to succeed to a seat in Council. Captain Poirier, being accompanied by several French Protestants, who understood the management of vineyards, lands in the neighbourhood of the district called Horsepasture were appropriated for the cultivation of the vine, in the view of making wine and brandy. The experiment, however, at that time, does not seem to have succeeded.

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The state and condition of St. Helena, and the manners of its inhabitants, about this period, are described by Captain Dampier, who visited the island in 1691, in the following words:—

“ The common landing-place is a small bay,
 “ like a half-moon, scarce five hundred paces
 “ wide between the two points. Close by the
 “ sea side are good guns, planted at equal
 “ distance, lying along from one end of the bay
 “ to the other, besides a small fort a little fur-
 “ ther in from the sea, near the midst of the
 “ bay. All which makes the bay so strong,
 “ that it is impossible to force it. The small
 “ cove, where Captain Munden landed his men
 “ when he took the island from the Dutch, is

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“ scarce fit for a boat to land, and yet that is
“ now fortified.

“ There is a small English town within the
“ great bay, standing in a little valley between
“ two high steep mountains. There may be
“ about twenty or thirty small houses, whose
“ walls are built with rough stones; the inside
“ furniture very mean. The Governor has a
“ pretty tolerable handsome low house by the
“ fort. But the houses in the town before
“ mentioned stand empty, save only when ships
“ arrive here; for their owners have all planta-
“ tions farther in the island, where they con-
“ stantly employ themselves. But when ships
“ arrive, they all flock to the town, where they
“ live all the time that the ships be here; for
“ then is their fair, or market, to buy such ne-
“ cessaries as they want, and to sell off the
“ produce of their plantations.

“ Their plantations afford potatoes, yams,
“ and some plantains and bananoes. Their
“ stock consists chiefly of hogs, bullocks, cocks
“ and hens, ducks, geese, and turkeys, of
“ which they have great plenty, and sell them
“ at a low rate to the sailors, taking in exchange
“ shirts, drawers, or any light clothes, pieces of
“ calico, silk or muslin; arrack, sugar, and

“ lime-juice, is also much esteemed, and coveted
“ by them. But now they are in hopes to pro-
“ duce wine and brandy in a short time, for they
“ do already begin to plant vines for that end,
“ there being a few Frenchmen that are to
“ manage that affair. This I was told, but I
“ saw nothing of it, for it rained so hard when
“ I was ashore, that I had not the opportunity
“ of seeing their plantations.

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“ Had we all come directly hither, and not
“ touched at the Cape, even the poorest people
“ among them would have gotten something by
“ entertaining sick men. For commonly the
“ seamen coming home are troubled, more or
“ less, with scorbutick distempers, and their
“ only hopes are to get refreshment and health
“ at this island, and these hopes seldom or
“ never fail them, if once they get footing here.
“ For the island affords abundance of delicate
“ herbs, wherewith the sick are first bathed, to
“ supple their joints, and then the fruits, and
“ herbs, and fresh food, soon after cure them of
“ their scorbutick humour. So that in a week’s
“ time, men that have been carried ashore in
“ hammocks, and they who were wholly unable
“ to go, have soon been able to leap and dance.
“ Doubtless the serenity and wholesomeness of
“ the air contributes much to the carrying off

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“ these distempers ; for here is constantly a
“ fresh breeze. While we stayed here, many
“ of the seamen got sweethearts. One young
“ man, belonging to the James and Mary, was
“ married, and brought his wife to England
“ with him ; another brought his sweetheart to
“ England, they being both engaged by bonds
“ to marry at their arrival in England ; and
“ several other of our men were over head and
“ ears in love with the Santa Helena maids ;
“ who, though they were born there, yet very
“ earnestly desired to be released from that
“ prison, which they have no other way to
“ compass but by marrying seamen or passen-
“ gers that touch here. The young women
“ born here are but one remove from English,
“ being the daughters of such. They are well-
“ shaped, proper, and comely, were they in
“ a dress to set them off.”

The abundance of fresh provisions and vegetables which the island produced was much more than adequate to supply the demands of the few ships employed, at that period, in the India trade. Several tracts of valuable land remained, at the same time, waste and unoccupied. A knowledge of this circumstance led the Company to entertain hopes of deriving further advantages from St. Helena, than solely as a port

of refreshment and rendezvous. A design was formed to establish plantations of sugar-canes, cotton, indigo, and tobacco; and encouragement was held out to the inhabitants for the cultivation of the three last-mentioned productions; but the first was intended to be reserved exclusively in the Company's hands. It was recommended as a preparatory measure to fence in the great wood at the eastern side of the island, now called Long Wood; and the Company's governments in India were instructed to send the necessary plants and seeds for promoting the undertaking. Mr. Cox, who had formerly resided in the West Indies, was sent out to superintend the sugar-works and plantations at St. Helena. The saltpetre, with which the earth was supposed to abound in many situations, induced the experiment also of collecting it, if possible, in sufficient quantities to render it an article of exportation. Similar hopes were formed in respect to sea salt, produced by the effect of the sun, in the hollows of rocks by the sea side. Ample instructions were forwarded for the formation of salt pans, and Rupert's Valley was considered as the place best calculated for the experiment. At the distance of about half a mile, or a little more, from the sea, this valley branches off into several others of less breadth, but increasing in width as they

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rise towards the interior of the country. One of them terminates in a form somewhat resembling a bowl, above a mile across, which, probably, might once have been the crater of a volcano. In heavy rains, the streams of water from the different gullies and ravines collect in united force, and, accompanied with mud and stones, rush in a torrent, which suddenly accumulates by supplies from the hills on either side, until its impetuosity so increases, that unless large sums of money were laid out to protect the salt pans, they must have been overwhelmed and destroyed by the inundation. As the same objection would apply, though perhaps in a less degree, to almost every other valley on the island, the prosecution of the idea was soon laid aside.

The attempt to collect saltpetre, as well as sea salt, was abandoned as impracticable, and though the Company had expended considerable sums in the purchase of sugar-mills, and other apparatus, their expense and trouble proved abortive, through negligence, mismanagement, or ignorance; and Mr. Cox was dismissed from their service, in which he had enjoyed the rank and salary of a member of Council. The defective state of the records prevents us from ascertaining why the plantations of cotton and indigo failed; but the spontaneous growth of to-

bacco, for many years, and even in the present time, evinces the soil and climate to be congenial to that plant. About the same time, a number of other plants, shrubs, and timber and fruit trees, were introduced. Among these were the cocoa-nut, cypress, and chesnut; pears, plums, apples, cherries, peaches, apricots, mulberries, gooseberries, currants, barberries, quinces, raspberries, medlars, nectarines, filberts, and walnuts. Of these fruits only the apple, peach, mulberry, and quince, have come to perfection. The thriving state of the few cypress trees and cocoa-nuts that still remain, as well as of those that have been recently planted, renders it a matter of surprise, that, considering the anxiety of the Company to effect their propagation, they were not more generally cultivated.

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A further supply of yams was imported from Madagascar, for the sustenance of the additional number of negroes that were procured to forward the plantations, and other works in contemplation; but, in consequence of the disappointments already mentioned, this extraordinary accession of labour was necessarily appropriated to the purposes for which the island was principally maintained. Fresh provision became so abundant, that, to ensure a regular and constant

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demand, a clause was inserted in the charter-parties of ships in the Company's service, obliging their owners to purchase a certain quantity of beef, the price of which, in the year 1683, was sixteen shillings per cwt. alive. But as the demands upon the island increased with the prosperity and trade of the Company, so the value of provisions became enhanced in the same ratio ; and the price of beef, in the year 1707, was twenty-five shillings per cwt. The market rates of other articles, in the same year, will appear by the following list :

	£.	s.	d.
Veal, per lb.....	0	0	6
Pork, ditto.....	0	0	4
Bacon, ditto.....	0	0	10
Running hogs, ditto.....	0	0	2
A sheep.....	1	0	0
A goat.....	0	8	0
A fowl.....	0	1	0
A turkey.....	0	5	0
A goose.....	0	5	0
Potatoes, per bushel.....	0	4	0
Yams, per cwt.....	0	6	0
Milk, per gallon.....	0	0	6
Butter, per lb.....	0	0	10
New milk cheese.....	0	0	4

Another article of sustenance, or rather of

luxury, was derived from the numerous eggs laid by the sea-birds on the detached rocks round the coast. The property in the eggs was considered as one of the Company's royalties; and certain days in the week were specified on which the inhabitants were permitted to collect them. This indulgence having been abused, notice was given, by proclamation, that any person taking eggs, except upon the appointed days, should forfeit their privilege for the remainder of the season*; and with so much jealousy were such prerogatives guarded, that in Captain Johnson's government, a man

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* Extract from consultation of the 8th of October, 1707 :—

“ Whereas there was usually granted by the Governor, from time to time, as he thought fit, liberty to gather eggs upon the Right Honourable Company lords proprietors' egg islands, which, for some years past, have been appointed, by the late Governor, to be Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, which days are still allowed by the present Governor. But finding that there has been (notwithstanding they have thereby granted them as much as the said Lords Proprietors) eggs gathered upon those days when they should not.

“ It is therefore hereby declared, that if any person or persons shall presume any more to gather eggs upon any other but their granted days, that then such boat, and people therein offending, shall lose their said privilege the whole season.”

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who had taken a sea-cow, and had appropriated to himself all the oil obtained from it, was fined five pounds for not having presented a share of it to the Company.*

The late discoveries and improvements in the science of navigation have demonstrated the

* Proclamation, dated the 28th of August, 1682 :—

“ It is ordered,

“ That, from the first of September next, whatsoever
“ free planter, or other inhabitants, shall find any of the
“ sayd fish, called sea-cows, or others of the like nature
“ and quality, on the shore of any part of the sayd island,
“ he may boyle the same, and convert it into oyle, and
“ take it to his owne proper vse and behoofe ; provided
“ always that hee forthwith send, or cause to be sent, the
“ eighth part, or gallon, of all the sayd oyle so made, vnto
“ Fort James, and deliver it to the Governor, or such as he
“ shall appoint, as an acknowledgment of the said Honour-
“ able Company’s royalty and property, and for their use
“ and service.

“ Further it is ordered,

“ That, from the same time, if any officer or souldier in
“ the sayd Honourable Company’s pay shall find any such
“ fish above mentioned, he may convert it into oyle, and
“ send one third part, or share, thereof vnto Fort James, as
“ aforesayd ; the other two thirds he may dispose of as he
“ pleaseth, provided, and it must always be remembered,
“ that all persons concerned in this matter be just and
“ right in the division and distribution of this commodity
“ betwixt the Company and themselves.”

practicability of performing, in eight weeks, a passage which formerly required double that period of time. It had been a long-established opinion, that ships bound from Europe to St. Helena must necessarily proceed into nearly as high a latitude as the Cape of Good Hope before they bore up for the island. This, of course, precluded any idea of adopting it as a port for the outward-bound trade; and the want of so desirable a convenience induced the Company to send out three ships successively, to ascertain whether such an accommodation could be discovered at the islands of Tristan d'Acunha. The commanders employed in this expedition were ordered to communicate the result of their observations to Governor Blackmore; who, in the event of receiving a favourable report, was instructed to send a Governor and garrison to the proposed settlement, with all necessary tools and implements for erecting a small fort. Encouragement was also held out for a certain number of families to remove thither from St. Helena, with whatever breeding-stock they might think proper, passage free. These islands are three in number, the largest of which is properly called Tristan d'Acunha, and lies in the thirty-seventh degree of south latitude, and in the twelfth degree west longitude from Greenwich. On the north side there is anchorage

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from twenty to thirty fathoms, opposite to a safe landing-place, and an abundant cascade, from whence good water can easily be procured. In addition to these advantages, it is situated not more than fifty leagues out of the track of ships bound from Europe to India and China. But the reason for relinquishing the design is not mentioned in the St. Helena records.* By the account given in Sir George Stanton's narrative of Earl Macartney's embassy to China, it appears that the islands of Tristan d'Acunha were more than once regarded as an eligible situation for a settlement. One set of adventurers "had the project of rendering it a mart
" for the change of the light manufactures of
" Hindostan, suited to hot climates, for the
" silver of the Spanish settlements in South
" America, in the route between which places
" it is conveniently situated. The other plan
" meant, was only as a suitable spot for drying
" and preparing the furs of sea-lions and seals,
" and for extracting the spermaceti of the white,
" or long-nosed whale, and the whalebone and
" oil of the black species."

On the 1st of October, 1690, Major Black-

* Probably it was the want of a safe anchorage, of which there have been lately several fatal instances.

more closed a troublesome government, and a long life, by a fall from the pathway on Putty-hill. He was succeeded by Captain Joshua Johnson, the Deputy-Governor, who, in three years after, fell a victim to the mutinous spirit by which the early annals of St. Helena are characterized. Four instances of mutiny had already occurred. The last was quelled with infinite trouble and much bloodshed ; but a fifth was, unfortunately, attended with too much success to the conspirators.

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Henry Jackson, a serjeant in the garrison, formed, with several soldiers, a plot to plunder the Company's treasure, and effect their escape in a ship called the Francis and Mary, then lying in the Roads, bound for Angola. The difficulties which they must necessarily have had to surmount in the execution of their scheme, had little weight with villains determined to carry their point through blood and massacre. The period fixed for striking the blow was Friday, the 21st of April 1693, when, in the tour of duty, Jackson became the serjeant of the fort guard. His accomplices, amounting to thirteen in number, were introduced within the gates before he delivered the keys to the Governor, who retired to rest without the slightest suspicion of what was to follow. In the middle of the night,

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the apartments of the Surgeon, and other Company's servants who resided in the fort, were visited by the conspirators, who disclosed their intentions separately to each person, and offered proposals to receive them into the confederacy. A rejection of these terms was followed by immediate confinement in a close and miserable dungeon. Four persons were intimidated by threats to assist the party. Having secured all within the walls, except the Governor and his family, further operations were suspended until daylight. At reveillé beat, the Governor, in total ignorance of his danger, came out, in his dressing-gown and slippers, to deliver the keys to Jackson, by whom he was instantly seized, and a scuffle ensued between them. At this moment some of the villains fired three shots at the Governor, one of which passed through Jackson's arm; but the Governor being wounded in the head, dropped immediately. After this every access into the country was guarded, to prevent the escape of those who might desire to spread the alarm, as well as to secure such as should approach the town; and messages were sent to several persons in the valley, in the Governor's name, requiring their attendance at the fort. As they entered, they were secured by the mutineers, and imprisoned in the dungeon, which was soon crowded with about fifty per-

sons, whites and blacks, in a state nearly approaching to suffocation. One of the mutineers proposed blowing up the prison with gunpowder; but this atrocious design was prevented by Jackson. The horrors of the unfortunate Mrs. Johnson's situation were aggravated by the brutal indecorum of the ruffians, who dragged her out of bed, and forced her into a closet, whilst they rifled the house, and secured the treasure. Nor was she suffered to visit her dying husband till nearly two hours had elapsed; when, at the Surgeon's earnest entreaty, he was permitted to attend him, and inspect his wounds, which were found to be mortal. The guns were then spiked, and the two small pieces of ordnance placed by Sir Richard Munden on the eastern eminence over the town, were dismounted, and their carriages tumbled down the precipice. Captain Kelinge, the Deputy-Governor, and Captain Pitts, commander of the Francis and Mary, had also been seized. These gentlemen, with Messrs. Lufkin and Goodwin, and R. Gurling, who had been taken from the dungeon, were compelled to accompany the mutineers on board the ship, where they conveyed the treasure, and all the valuable articles they could collect. Being thus in possession of hostages, Jackson was determined not to leave the island without the requisite supplies for the voyage. In this view

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Mr. Goodwin was allowed to go on shore about eight o'clock that night; and he was desired to inform the people in the town, that if a shot was fired at the ship, the hostages should immediately be put to death. In the mean time, the persons in the dungeon, to their infinite joy, were liberated. On the following morning, the supplies for the ship were procured; and Captain Poirier, on whom the command had now devolved, came into the town, with a number of the inhabitants from the country. Several proposals were made to fire into the ship, as many of the guns had been unspiked; but, fortunately for the hostages, this measure was prevented by Captain Poirier. A boat was dispatched from the ship, with one of the mutineers, for the articles demanded by them; but he was informed that they should be delivered half way between the ship and the shore, if the hostages were sent in a boat to meet them. This was positively refused; and the mutineers declared, that until their wants were supplied, Captain Kellinge should not leave the ship. Necessity forced a compliance with these terms; and, after the ship was beyond the reach of gun-shot, the hostages were put into a boat, with the four men that had been compelled to join Jackson's party, and were suffered to return on shore. By that time the Governor had died of his

wounds. As an act of justice to Captain Pitts, Mr. Kelinge gave him a paper, under his hand, certifying that the Captain was innocent of any wilful part in this horrid transaction. From the conversation on board, it was imagined they would sail for America; but it was afterwards deemed more probable that their destination was Ireland.*

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* For the information of such readers as may wish for a more particular account of this conspiracy, the following copies of some depositions, which were taken a few days after, are here inserted;

“ Richard Gurling, being sworn, saith, that on the 22d
“ day of April, 1693, he went down to the fort, in the
“ morning very early, with Captain Pitts, Thomas Good-
“ win, Andrew Rooker, and Hugh Bodley; so soon as they
“ were all entered in the fort, Serjeant Jackson stepped
“ before them, with a fuzee in his hand ready, and said,
“ ‘Gentlemen, stand, and yield yourselves prisoners, or
“ else you are all dead men.’ Jackson came to him, whom
“ he asked what was the matter; who answered, ‘Damn
“ you, I’ll kill you as soon as another man, for all you are
“ my father’ (for Jackson had married the said Gurling’s
“ daughter-in-law); so was immediately put into prison till
“ the evening, and then was called up to go on board with
“ them; which at first denying, but considering that if he
“ was forced to remain in prison all night, thought he
“ should have died before morning (having been almost
“ stifled already), being so many together in such a small
“ room, so was carried on board, with Captain Kelinge,
“ Captain Pitts, Thomas Goodwin, and John Lufkin.

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In this manner was the death of the Governor effected, in the heart of his own garrison, by

“ Further saith, he remembers Jackson asked him his
“ counsel privately on board, and he answered him he
“ could not tell him what counsel to give him; and then
“ the said Jackson said he would go any where where Cap-
“ tain Pitts would have him. Jackson further told him,
“ that himself, John Wensley, and Robert Lightfoot, would
“ hold together, and put Thomas Gartry and his family
“ on shore at Ascension. Also saith, Captain Pitts wept
“ bitterly, and desired he might have liberty to go on shore,
“ but Jackson told him no harm should come to him, for
“ he would stick by him as long as he had a drop of blood ;
“ and that he heard Captain Pitts say, that they had best
“ go to the Cape of Virginia, and as they met with ships
“ coming out, to distribute their company.

(Signed)

“ RICHARD GURLING.”

The deposition of Thomas Goodwin,

“ Saith, on Saturday, the 22d day of April, 1693, very
“ early in the morning, being in his house in Chapel Val-
“ ley Town, Captain Thomas Pitts, commander of ship
“ Francis and Mary, then in the Roads, came to call me
“ to go on board with him, as was agreed on the night be-
“ fore, who went, together with Andrew Rooker ; so going
“ towards the fort, met with Hugh Bodley and Richard
“ Gurling, who were together towards the water side, to
“ call the boat on shore, and thought to have gone through
“ the fort as usual; as soon as all were within the fort,
“ Serjeant Jackson stept out of his room before us, with
“ a fuzee in his hand, cocked and guarded, said (or swore)
“ ‘ Stand, and yield yourselves prisoners, or, before God !
“ you are all dead men.’ I was going to lay hands on the
“ Serjeant,

fourteen men, in open day ; the fort plundered, and every necessary supply obtained by the vil-

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“ Serjeant, thinking he had been a drinking, but before I
 “ could do so, I saw several other soldiers behind us, who
 “ said to same purpose as did the Serjeant, and further
 “ added, that their design was to do us no harm, but take
 “ the ship, and go away ; so conveyed us all but Captain
 “ Pitts to the dungeon. At the mouth of the dungeon was
 “ much blood ; which made Andrew Rooker to say, ‘ Lord
 “ have mercy upon us, there is blood spilt already.’ Go-
 “ ing into the dungeon, we found several people there,
 “ who told us the Governor was killed, or desperately
 “ wounded. Afterwards, as people came to the fort, our
 “ number was increased in the dungeon till we were almost
 “ stifled with heat. About sun-set in the evening, I was
 “ commanded out of the hole, with Mr. Lufkin and Richard
 “ Gurling, where we found Captain Kelinge and Captain
 “ Pitts ; then we were all five conveyed on board the ship,
 “ where it was said Captain Pitts should be their navigator,
 “ that Captain Kelinge, Mr. Lufkin, Richard Gurling, and
 “ myself, as hostages, that the people might not fire upon
 “ them, and that they might have what necessaries they
 “ yet wanted. As soon as we were on board, we went
 “ into the cabin, where was a great parcel of fire-arms,
 “ without ammunition, which lay in our way, which I
 “ took hold of to put under the table ; then came Wens-
 “ ley, swearing desperately he would secure you too : this
 “ fellow coming on rashly, stumbled, and fell down, but
 “ before he recovered, we made him understand we were
 “ only putting them out of the way. We that were on
 “ board as hostages, were much afraid of the people’s fir-
 “ ing on the ship which were on shore, and then at liberty,
 “ knowing that if they fired we should presently suffer,

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lains, upon their own terms, even while under the guns of the fortifications.

“ therefore entreated that one of us might be permitted to
 “ go on shore, to dissuade the people therefrom, and to tell
 “ the great danger he was now in that should be their Governor; which was granted, and that I should be the
 “ man; and they demanded some dry beans, lemons, &c.
 “ Then I desired Captain Kelinge to give me some small
 “ note, which might empower me to seize those that would
 “ be refractory, and to take those beans, &c. where they
 “ could be found; which, upon consideration, was granted,
 “ viz.

“ ‘ Mr. Goodwin,

“ ‘ Whereas I am confined,’ &c. &c.

“ Which note the rogues liked very well, and sent me off,
 “ about eight or nine of the clock, with two Negroes to
 “ row the boat, and ordered that their necessaries might
 “ be got ready by the next morning; which, with the assistance of Captain Price, did get ready.

“ Before the next morning much people came out of
 “ the country; and, as there were many men, so they were
 “ many minds; some for firing on the vessel, and sink her,
 “ so in a great hurly-burly; but we were like men of war
 “ without guns; for I searched the line round, and found
 “ them all spiked up. About the break of day we cleared,
 “ primed, and shotted several of our guns; tho’ not to be
 “ fired so long as Captain Kelinge, &c. were on board,
 “ knowing that the life of one honest man was better than
 “ the death of so many rogues. In the morning there came
 “ one of their crew, viz. Stephen Lancaster, to the rocks,
 “ with Negroes to row the boat, and demanded some of
 “ their

Nor had a calm of a few months succeeded before the island was nearly consigned to the

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“ their necessities ; but was answered, that they should
 “ send a boat half way betwixt the ship and the shore, with
 “ their prisoners, and then they should have them, for they
 “ were ready ; who went off immediately saying, ‘ I smell a
 “ rat ;’ for they saw Andrew Rooker, the armourer, clearing
 “ some of the vents of the great guns. Not long after they
 “ sent another of their rogues, viz. John Wensley, demand-
 “ ing those goods again, saying, that they would not be
 “ brought to compound upon any terms, but would carry
 “ their prisoners out of gun-shot before they would release
 “ them ; and further added, that they had liked to cut the
 “ throats of their hostages on Stephen Lancaster’s words
 “ (who was before on shore), but that they knew him to
 “ be a lying rogue ; therefore he came to know the truth ;
 “ and further said, that an axe was laid to the cable, to
 “ cut if he fired his fuzee, tho’ they sunk presently ; and
 “ that the prisoners should not have the honour to sink
 “ with them, for they would presently be killed. I desired
 “ him to put his boat to, and he should have his necessa-
 “ ries, which he did, and by the time one hogshead of
 “ beans was in the boat, there (by chance) fired in the fort
 “ in firelock, which made this fellow sware desperately he
 “ would fire ; but I, with much persuasion of him, and
 “ telling him I would go on board with him as his prisoner,
 “ caused him to forbear ; so I went off with him, which put
 “ our people on board in a less fear. I was commanded
 “ on shore again to fetch other necessities, viz. a frying-
 “ pan, &c. they had formerly forgot, and was commanded
 “ to come on board with them, which I did ; and when
 “ they weighed anchor, set sail, and run two leagues off,
 “ then they put George Lock, Isaac Slaughter, Joseph

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miseries of new insurrections. A general spirit of insubordination continued to threaten the public safety. It pervaded almost all ranks and classes. Planters, soldiers, and blacks, were alike infected. The militia were preparing to insist on being commanded by no other officers than those of their own election. Nor could this conspiracy be counteracted by any expedient but that of reducing the strength of the disaffected by enlisting several of their numbers into the garrison. There was also a continual apprehension of the blacks rising against the whites; a circumstance which sufficiently proves the laws respecting blacks were far from ensuring that subordination and rigid subjection which the severity of the code was intended to establish. Governor Keling very narrowly escaped the fate of his predecessor. A conspiracy of the blacks was formed to massacre the European inhabitants, to seize a ship, and convey themselves to their native countries. Jackson's success gave encouragement to such an enterprise. Fortunately this plot was discovered in

“ Davis, and Richard Evans, into our boat, saying, that
“ what Lock, Slaughter, Davis, and Evans did, they were
“ forced to it by them; so release Captain Keling, John
“ Lufkin, Richard Gurling, and myself, with two Negroes
“ they had on board. Further sayeth not.

(Signed) “ J. GOODWIN.”

time to prevent its consequences ; and the ring-leaders were secured, and many of them punished by repeated and severe flogging, and then sent off the island. A more dreadful sentence awaited the three principals. One was “ to be hanged “ in chains, alive, on Ladder Hill, and starved “ to death ; two hanged and cut down alive, “ their bowels taken out, and their quarters and “ heads to be put in some publique crossway, “ for the publique view of all Negroes.”

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In truth, notwithstanding all that has been alleged in vindication of slavery, yet, to the unprejudiced and disinterested eye, it must, at best, appear as a flaw in the jurisprudence of a civilized nation. But if in any case its existence be deemed requisite, it surely becomes policy, as well as a moral duty, to suppress the temptation to revolt by ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and reconciling them to it by every humane method consistent with prudence ; instead of having recourse to laws so execrable as to drive to desperation minds previously agitated by injury and misfortune. As this, however, is a subject that has been so fully discussed by much abler pens, it will be sufficient here to remark, that since the slaves have been placed on a footing more suitable to men than to brutes, no insurrection, or even serious riot, has either

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taken place or been apprehended ; nor, if we can judge from the experience of the last twenty years, is any such event likely to occur.

On the 30th of November, 1697, Mr. Kellinge died of a dropsy, and was succeeded by Captain Poirier. The late Council having consisted only of the Governor and Deputy-Governor, the new Governor, on his accession, was left without a colleague ; he therefore called in an assistant, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, who had some time been employed in the Store-keeper's department, and was afterwards confirmed third in Council.

The futile efforts of weakness to maintain a tottering authority, constitute the characteristic features of this Government. To recount the numerous and gross insults offered to the Governor would be as unpleasant as uninteresting to the reader. Though proclamations for the observance of morality were issued, they could be to very little purpose, when an example was exhibited, even in the Chaplain, of debauchery and faction ; and the conduct of the Deputy-Governor was marked by a turbulent and mutinous disposition.* The tax upon spirituous

* The Deputy-Governor, who had, in the most unprovoked

liquors, mentioned in the preceding chapter, was intended to operate as a prohibition of the distilleries; but it was by no means adequate to prevent intemperance. The number of stills upon the island became, at last, such a nuisance, that they were all suppressed, in the year 1700, by orders from England. Another attempt at insurrection by the blacks was punished by the execution of the principal ringleaders. The disorder of the times is further evinced by the numerous civil and criminal prosecutions, actions of assault and defamation, that encumber the records. The punishment usually inflicted was termed "riding the wooden horse," because the delinquents were placed astride upon a horizon-

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voked manner, insulted the Governor, Poirier, and challenged him to fight, died on the 25th of May, 1702, and was succeeded by a Captain Toddington; but little advantage resulted from this change. Toddington, from the first day of his landing, showed a disposition to quarrel with the Governor; and, in a short time, his language might justly be termed mutiny. The violence of his conduct, at last, obliged the council to suspend him; but submission, and protestations of future good behaviour, induced his restoration in a few days. He did not, however, long hold his situation; for the records exhibit a subsequent instance of his being brought before Council, as a private individual, to answer a charge for a breach of the peace against his former friend and associate, the Chaplain, with whom he was now at enmity.

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tal beam, and remained in this situation a certain time, with one or more muskets tied to each leg.

The Governor had directed, that all ships should send a boat into Banks's Battery before they attempted to enter the Roads. His want of resolution to enforce this order, and to oblige the Company's ships to lie close in shore, occasioned the loss of two of them, namely, the *Queen* and *Dover*, both of which were taken on the 1st of June, 1706, by a French force, under the command of Monsieur Desduguières, on his return from India. At seven o'clock in the morning a signal was made for two sail in sight, and report described them as large ships, under Dutch colours, approaching the island; at ten they were opposite Banks's; and a gun being fired from thence (according to custom), they lowered their topsails, and saluted with five guns. One of them immediately stood towards the *Queen*, and running along side, poured in a volley of small-arms from the tops, which the *Queen* returned by a broadside, but was soon boarded, and taken. The enemy then hauled down their Dutch flag, and displayed French colours; and both proving two-deckers, the *Dover* was also obliged to strike. As soon as this breach of the law of nations was perceived, or-

ders were given, by the Governor, to fire upon the enemy from the batteries ; but a sufficiency neither of powder nor match was at hand, and many of the sponges did not fit the guns. This occasioned such confusion and delay, that the French, with very little molestation, cut the cables of their prizes ; and, after firing a few broadsides at the batteries, were soon out of the reach of gun-shot. Monsieur Desduguières had, some years before, visited the island, in time of peace, when he had been suffered by Governor Poirier to sound about the coast wherever he pleased, and to send his officers into the country, on pretence of shooting ; but it is said they were very differently employed, and made whatever surveys they thought proper ; so that the French commander was well aware of every circumstance that could oppose the execution of his plan. From several large ships passing the island immediately after the capture of the *Queen* and *Dover*, it may be inferred, that Monsieur Desduguières might have brought a larger force to accomplish his design, had he thought the difficulty of the object would have required it. To guard against a second misfortune of this nature, the Company positively directed that all their ships, whilst they remained at St. Helena, should moor close in under Ladder Hill : and ordered, that no ship whatever

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should be suffered to pass Banks's Battery, without previously sending in a boat to request the Governor's permission for anchoring. The utmost endeavours were likewise exerted to carry forward the defensive works at Rupert's Valley, which had been commenced some time before, but had received much damage from floods.

The establishment of a new East-India Company, in prejudice to that already existing, is an occurrence so far connected with the present History, that it cannot with propriety be passed unnoticed. The jealousies and party spirit which resulted from the clashing of different concerns and rival interests, could not fail to create trouble, and even some degree of animosity, in the settlements abroad, as well as in England; nor was St. Helena totally exempt from these disturbances. The orders for exacting a duty of twenty shillings a ton from every East-India trader, not in the Company's service, that required refreshment at the island, were repeated during Captain Poirier's government; and in consequence of the refusal of supplies to one of the new Company's ships, except in terms of the old Company's orders (who were the sovereigns of the island), the commander endeavoured to obtain by force what he might have procured in a legal manner; and sent a

boat manned and armed, towards one of the leeward valleys for water. The Governor, however, frustrated the attempt by detaching a part of the garrison, with orders to roll down stones on the watering party, but not to proceed to further hostilities, unless the boat's crew commenced a fire. Shortly after this, the new Company sent an agent to reside at St. Helena, for the purpose of communicating instructions to the commanders of their ships. But as this was a measure for which the Governor and Council had received no sanction from their employers, the agent was informed, that whatever letters he was intrusted with, should be delivered to the persons to whom they were directed; but that he himself must embark for England by the first opportunity. A termination to these, and similar differences, was shortly after effected by the incorporation of the old and the new Companies into one, under the title of the *United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies*. On this occasion St. Helena was transferred from the *old* to the *united* East-India Company, in whose possession, as Lords Proprietors, it has ever since remained.

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On the 8th of September, 1707, Captain Poirier died of a lingering disease, and was succeeded by Captain Goodwin, who governed

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about eleven months. During this period, the Alarm-House,* on the ridge dividing a branch of Rupert's Valley from that of James's, was built, and the works at Lemon Valley repaired. On

* Extract from consultation, the 24th of September, 1707 :—

“ Whereas it hath been, for some time past, intended
 “ and thought on to have a house built on the Alarm Ridge,
 “ for the lodging of arms and ammunition, and posting of
 “ two soldiers, in order to guard the ammunition and to fire
 “ the alarm guns there as soon as they descried any ship or
 “ ships, or upon the hearing of Prosperous Bay guns fire ;
 “ it is an hour before those guns are fired after the Bay
 “ guns ; and also for the conveniency of lodging the whole
 “ party posted there in the night time, to prevent their
 “ going home to their several houses, as usually did ;
 “ and we thought it very necessary and convenient to go
 “ and take a view of the said Alarm Ridge, to see which
 “ was the most convenient place to build a house on.
 “ Upon the viewing of Lemon Valley, to consider what was
 “ needful to be done there, with the approbation of John
 “ George Newman, Engineer, have laid out a platform of
 “ three guns, to be erected on the east side of the valley,
 “ with a house of thirty feet long and ten broad, with a
 “ chimney ; and that a powder-room be built at the back-
 “ side thereof ; and that a platform of two guns, with a
 “ small powder-room, to hold only cartridges of powder,
 “ on the west side of the valley ; both of which are upon
 “ two little hills, clear from any floods, and will certainly
 “ make the place impregnable.”

N. B. The force at that time allotted for the defence of Lemon Valley, consisted of an officer and two soldiers.

the 24th of August, in the following year, Captain Roberts arrived from England as Governor, and Captain Goodwin in consequence returned to his former situation of Deputy-Governor, and soon after died.

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As we now approach a juncture when the island was rescued from a state of disorder and degradation by the able and energetic measures of Governor Roberts, and as his wise administration forms a most striking contrast to that of his predecessors, it will be proper to reserve the account of his government for a new chapter.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE YEAR 1708 TO THE YEAR 1714.

The building of Munden's Point battery—The present castle in James's Valley commenced—Hopes of discovering a gold and copper mine, fallacious—Lime-quarries discovered—Improvement of the Company's lands—Sugar, rum, wine, brandy, bricks, and tiles, made on the island—General improvement in respect to planting and enclosing—Re-publication of the old laws—Application from the inhabitants in consequence—Answer—Government-House in the country erected—Plan for fertilizing Prosperous-Bay Plain—Resignation of Governor Roberts, and succession of Governor Boucher—His government—Resigns.

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As security to the island was the first object of importance, the Governor's earliest attention was directed to the defences. On the day he landed, the engineer received instructions to give in a plan for a battery, to be erected at Munden's Point; and two days after, a resolution was passed in Council to construct the present square fort in James's Valley, and also a new Government-House. For the better com-

pletion of such structures in a permanent and substantial style, it was deemed expedient to obtain a cement superior to the mud-mortar applied in ordinary buildings; and the importation of chalk from England, to be burnt into lime at St. Helena (a measure adopted on a former occasion), being attended with great expense and inconvenience, it was judged essential to obtain that necessary article, if possible, on the spot. A reward of one hundred dollars was accordingly offered for the discovery of this useful substance; and, in the course of seven weeks, the researches of Aaron Johnson, a soldier, were in part successful; but the quantity he could procure being inconsiderable, he was not deemed entitled to the whole reward. The offer, therefore, of a remuneration in proportion to the capacity of the quarry, was published, to stimulate further exertions. But in this research avarice soon received another incitement. Appearances of gold and copper ore were discovered, in Breakneck Valley, by Captain Mashborne, a member of Council; who, as well as many others, was prosecuting his search for lime. A proclamation* was, in consequence, issued, of-

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* From consultation, 22d February, 1709 :—

A Declaration by the Governor and Council.

“ That Captain Edward Mashborne, in digging of lime-
M 2 “ stone,

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fering a reward of two hundred and fifty pounds for the discovery of a gold mine, and one hundred and fifty pounds for a copper mine. But no signs of either could be found. The supposed gold discovered by Captain Mashborne proving, when assayed in England, to be marcasites, as whatever particles of metal it contained could not be separated, but evaporated in fume. Whilst numbers sought to gain one of the highest prizes, the less lucrative object of lime was not forgotten; and the exertions of the Governor and Captain Mashborne were crowned with success, by their actually finding moun-

“ stone, in Breakneck Valley, amongst ’em sent some that
 “ was mixt with other stones and dirt; which, being tried
 “ in the fire, there was found mixt with it several specks
 “ of gold. And Mr. Daniel Griffith since has sent to the
 “ Governor two sorts of minerals, found the last week, by
 “ Charles Rothwall, a soldier, lodging at his house: the
 “ one is gold, the other we take to be copper; samples
 “ whereof may be seen at the Governor’s house. Where-
 “ fore, for the encouragement of any person that shall be
 “ industrious towards finding a mine thereof, he shall have,
 “ as a reward for his trouble, two hundred and fifty pounds
 “ for the gold, and one hundred and fifty pounds for the
 “ copper mine: and this rainy season being the most pro-
 “ per time for looking into all the water-falls and streams,
 “ we desire they may apply themselves diligently there-
 “ abouts, being assured there are such mines upon the
 “ island.”

tains of extraordinary lime-stone at Sandy Bay.* A kiln was immediately ordered to be built there; and it was ascertained by experiment that the process of burning could be performed as well by ebony as by coals. The ebony-tree is an indigenous production of the island, and formerly grew abundantly in many parts; but, its bark being adapted to the purpose of tanning hides, which were exported to England and the West-Indies, quantities of these trees had been unnecessarily destroyed, by stripping the trunks and not taking the trouble of barking the branches;† a practice which caused a shameful

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* From consultation, 19th July, 1709:—

“ Our necessity is so great for want of coals, that we
 “ thought it would have put a full stop to our work; but
 “ find that ebony-wood will burn lime: and being in-
 “ formed that there is huge quantities of that wood which
 “ lies dead on the hill, near Sandy Bay, the Governor and
 “ Captain Mashborne went there to view it, and found
 “ the report true; for that there is abundance indeed;
 “ and just by that place where the wood lies is mountains
 “ of extraordinary lime-stone; and it will be much cheaper
 “ to our Honourable Masters to bring lime from thence
 “ ready burnt (being light), than to fetch that sort of
 “ wood, which is very heavy, and bring it to the Castle in
 “ James’s Valley.”

† From consultation, 19th July, 1709:—

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destruction of at least three trees, where one would have sufficed. To prevent a total extir-

“ Forasmuch as the red-wood and ebony-wood, whose
 “ barks are fit for tanning leather, are most of ’em de-
 “ stroyed by the tanners, that for laziness never took the
 “ pains to bark the whole trees, but only the bodies, leav-
 “ ing the rest of the bark on the branches, which means
 “ has destroyed all those trees, at least three for one; and
 “ therefore, to prevent the like for the future, and to pre-
 “ serve and recover so useful and necessary a thing for the
 “ island use; Ordered, that no more hides be sold to the
 “ people; for that we are about to engage one John Or-
 “ chard, a tanner, who has offered himself, to tan and
 “ dress those hides at three shillings and six pence a piece;
 “ all other skins at the prices following: *viz.* a calf skin
 “ at one shilling and six pence, a sheep skin at one shil-
 “ ling and six pence, and goat skins at six pence each;
 “ and have supplied him with one of the Honourable Com-
 “ pany’s blacks, to help and assist him, it being too much
 “ work for himself: and the said Orchard hath obliged
 “ himself to learne and teach the black his trade of a tan-
 “ ner and currier, and that articles of agreement be drawn
 “ accordingly. The advantages proposed to our masters
 “ in this matter are thus: First, the preservation of the
 “ trees. Secondly, as we used to do, to sell those hides to
 “ tanners at three shillings a piece, and that, when tanned,
 “ sold them again from twelve to fourteen shillings a piece,
 “ so that, one with another, we may probably clear seven
 “ shillings a hide. And, if shipping comes, we may be
 “ able to tan two hundred in a year (besides all other
 “ skins), which will clear seventy pounds a year, if sold
 “ out, besides the advantage of the small skins: and if wee
 “ employ

pation of this wood, restrictions and limitations were not only laid on tanning, but the process of burning lime was, in a few weeks, suspended, and the completion of the battery at Munden's Point postponed, till coals could be procured from England. In the mean time, the blacks were employed in breaking lime-stone, in Rupert's Valley, where it appears a quarry had been discovered. As the engineer of the island had been dismissed from his situation,* Government was probably less anxious to forward defensive

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“ employ shoemakers to work 'em up, wee are apt to believe that this article will yield our Masters one hundred pounds a year, at least; the loss of the work of the black and all other charges deducted.”

* “ The Governor reports to the Council, that he observes the Engineer to be useless, running headlong about business, without his directions; which being fully considered in Council, give their opinions of him: That Christian Frederick Vogell is rather Pyoneer than an Engineer, and no gentleman, by his actions and behaviour, and is altogether useless to serve the Honourable Company in any capacity, as being idle, ignorant, and lazy, not knowing how to obey orders, or give directions, by which means our Honourable Masters have suffered.

“ Resolved, That the said C. F. Vogell be dismissed the Honourable Company's service from this day.”

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works, until professional assistance could arrive from England.

Whilst these measures were in train for fortifying the island and port, other points of moment were not disregarded. The state of the colony, in respect to planting and pasturage, demanded attention; particularly the condition of lands belonging to the Company, whose concerns had been much neglected, and even their interests sacrificed to private views, by permitting individuals to exchange unfenced grounds for improved Company's farms. The regulations noticed in the third chapter, obliging landholders to render an acknowledgment to the Company of one shilling annually for every beast pastured on the waste land, appears to have been entirely overlooked; till Governor Roberts, by the confiscation of five head of cattle, put an end to any further violation of this law. The fences upon all the Company's lands were ordered to be completed with the utmost expedition. Groves of gum-wood and lemon-trees were planted, and nursed, and much care was bestowed on the cultivation of the shrub from which the castor-oil is extracted.

To carry forward the Company's works and plantations, it was judged requisite to procure

two hundred slaves, in addition to the number already employed, which amounted to seventy-six, men, women, and children ; and to provide sustenance for such an augmentation of numbers, became a subject of necessary consideration. A committee of three members of Council was ordered to survey all the Company's plantations, and report upon their capability ; and to ascertain what contiguous grounds would answer for the cultivation of yams.* By the committee's report,† it appeared, that, after throwing out

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* Extract from consultation, dated the 18th April, 1710 :—

“ The increase of the yam plantations is of so great importance, especially since we have writ for two hundred blacks more ; and therefore the Governor is of opinion, that we ought to increase the plantations to three millions of yams : and since it is the opinion of this Council that it will require no less than one hundred and twenty acres of good ground to plant three millions of yams ;

“ It is ordered,

“ That Captain Mashborne, Mr. Griffith, and Mr. Bazzett, go forthwith, and survey this island in those parts that are nearest to any of the Honourable Company's plantations, as also the plantations themselves, and to make their report.”

† On the 21st of November following, the Committee of Survey

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the exhausted plantations, no more yams could be raised than would suffice for fifty additional persons. But the hill between Friar's and Breakneck Valley, which had always been regarded as an unproductive waste, attracted the attention of Governor Roberts, and he judged that, with the aid of water, about two hundred acres of it might be turned to very good account. After consulting with several experienced

Survey presented their report to the Council; the result of which appears by the following extract from the consultation of the same date; viz.

“ Having duly considered the report aforesaid, we
“ finde

“ Yams planted 477,340

“ And all the new ground that is, or

“ can betaken in, that is fitt to plant

“ yams in, will contain 675,956

“ Which makes in all 1,153,296

“ Total of the old ground to be thrown

“ out 118,000

“ Total of the planted yams, and yams

“ to be planted 1,035,296

“ Which shews that we have not, nor can raise, provisions
“ for above fifty blacks more; and that the charge to
“ fence in the same will amount to five hundred and se-
“ venty pounds fifteen shillings and four pence.”

planters, he submitted his ideas to the consideration of the Council, and proposed to convey a stream of water from the springs at the Plantation-House to the head of the ground intended to be enclosed, where he designed to excavate one or more reservoirs, to guard against the effects of drought, or a failure of the springs. It was calculated that fifty acres of the new ground would produce one million five hundred thousand yams; that this quantity, together with the five hundred thousand supplied by the plantations already in cultivation, would be sufficient, with Indian corn and beans, to maintain, besides the garrison, an additional population of two hundred blacks; and that, if the whole two hundred acres were enclosed, they would be adequate to the maintenance of one thousand persons. Such a system would not only put a stop to the expense annually and necessarily incurred by the purchase of those articles, but would also ensure an abundant supply of vines, and a sufficient stock of canes to make sugar, both for home-consumption and exportation. At this period, sanguine hopes were entertained of success in the manufacture of the last article. The Council unanimously concurred in authorizing the Governor to prosecute his plan at his own discretion; and in thirty-four days a plentiful stream of water flowed to the head of the

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new ground. About sixty acres were immediately ordered to be enclosed; and, by the expense incurred at the commencement of the work, the Governor was of opinion, that the whole could be completed for a less sum than his first estimate of one thousand two hundred and eighty-nine pounds twelve shillings. The remainder was determined to be taken in as soon as leisure would permit, and it appears that, in the year 1717, the work was finished by Governor Pyke.

It is remarkable, that scarcely any further notice is taken of this plantation in any subsequent record; and it is difficult to say why it was suffered to go to ruin. The soil appears good; there could be no deficiency in the article of water, as, even so late as the year 1732, it was in contemplation to continue the water-course from thence to James's Valley, for the supply of the ships, the stream in that valley having become rather brackish by a mixture with the salt springs in its progress to the sea.

The failure of Mr. Cox in his attempts to bring sugar and rum to perfection, and the unsuccessful experiments of professed vine-dressers and vintners, did not, as has been already observed, discourage the hopes of Governor Ro-

berts. Sugar-canes were found to flourish in Sandy Bay, and in other situations. In a very short time, the Governor reported his success to the Council, and was enabled to exhibit samples of sugar, rum, wine, and brandy. He also ascertained the practicability of making bricks and tiles.*

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* On the 15th of August, 1710, the Governor exhibited to the Council a sample of St. Helena sugar; whereupon the following resolution was passed : —

“ That a pound or two be sent to our Honourable Masters, by the next shipping; and that they may be acquainted that we have found the following articles since Governor Roberts came here: viz.

“ Lime,

“ Tyles,

“ Brick,

“ Cut-stones, for building,

“ Sugar,

“ Rum,

“ Mineralls of severall sorts.

“ Upon which we are now resolved to fire nine guns; to drink our Honourable Masters' good health, and success to the island: for we are well satisfied this island will turn to account, and not be a dead charge, as it ever has been, if our Honourable Masters will be pleased to encourage it, and supply these people with necessarys; and then there will be no aversion against improvements, but showers of blessings of these people will come to them.”

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To the influence of example in the good management of the Company's farms, and as an encouragement to the industrious, was added the force of proclamations to promote improvement; and persons to whom the appellation of *drones* became applicable, were sent off the island, and their lands allotted to others.

Many of the inhabitants derived a considerable income from letting out their slaves to the Company, as labourers, at the rate of one shilling and sixpence per day (in former governments it was two shillings); but the Council now resolved, that no black should be hired by the Company, until his proprietor could certify that his land was fenced, and planted with a due proportion of wood. As a relief to those who, by putting their land in a proper state, were thus deprived of an immediate source of revenue, provisions to the amount of three hundred pounds were ordered to be purchased from all planters who had any to dispose of, although no immediate necessity for this measure appears to have existed on the part of the Company. But the Governor wisely judged, that if the general improvement of the island would be promoted by such an expenditure, the sum could scarcely be laid out to more advantage. By these and similar means, a spirit of industry was roused

among the planters, and their attention directed to proper and useful objects. Decayed fences, and ruined plantations, gave place to well-managed farms; sloth and intemperance were succeeded by sober habits; and the face of the country soon wore a new appearance.

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So little attention had been paid, under former governments, to the orders transmitted, from time to time, by the Company, as standing regulations, that it was doubtful whether a number of them were obsolete, or yet in force; and many land-holders were ignorant of even the terms upon which they held their possessions. Two members of Council were, therefore, intrusted with the charge of arranging the various orders sent out, and engrossing them in a book to be entitled *Laws and Ordinances*.

In the course of three months, the gentlemen reported their work finished, and a meeting of thirty-six principal inhabitants was convened at the country church, that the code might be read, and copies delivered to the churchwardens for general distribution. Notice was at the same time given (with the sanction of the Company), that any observations, or proposals, offered on the subject, by the inhabitants, should be deli-

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vered in writing, and Government would take them into consideration.

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The convention of the thirty-six nominated twelve of their number to act for them ; and this committee, on the 14th of June, 1709, presented the following

Propositions and Address to the Governor and Council.

ARMS.

“ 1stly.—They desire the chief families may
“ have arms in their houses.

ASSEMBLIES.

“ 2ndly.—In their friendly meetings and
“ merry-makings, it may not be deemed as
“ riots ; and that upon any time, by order of
“ the Governor, they will separate, if ever it
“ should enter into his thoughts such meeting
“ is for any evil intention ; which they say God
“ forbid it should.

ALARMS.

“ 3dly.—They desire they may not be cor-

“porally punished, in case any neglect their
“duty ; but to be punished in their purses.

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BLACKS.

“4thly.—They humbly desire, that when
“their blacks are run away from them, they
“may not be obliged to pay fourfold for what
“they steale, but only to make satisfaction for
“the thing stole to the person injured.

MARKETT-HOUSE.

“5thly.—They desire, if there be a markett-
“house built, they may’nt be obliged to bring
“their goods out of the country to a publick
“market.

BEEFE.

“6thly.—They desire to have free liberty to
“sell beefe to shippes.

DOGGS.

“7thly.—They desire that themselves may
“not be obliged to lead their doggs in a string;
“but are willing their servants shall do it.

CATTLE.

“8thly.—They desire the toll of cattle may be

- CHAP. “ taken off that they sell to one another, which
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— “ is two shillings per head; for that the trouble
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“ to them than the thing itself.

CATTLE.

- “ 9thly.—They desire that the trouble they
“ are put to, when they kill any cattle, in car-
“ rying the hide, hornes, and ears, to persons
“ that has bin appointed for that purpose, may
“ be redrest.

FENCING LAND.

- “ 10thly.—They desire they may not be
“ obliged to fence in their land at all, it being a
“ new thing they never heard of before.

JURYS.

- “ 11thly.—They desire all other matters may
“ be tried by juries, besides life, limb, and land,
“ as the plaintiffe shall think fitt.

WHOLESALE.

- “ 12thly.—They desire that the liquors, &c.
“ called Wholesale, being three gallons, may
“ be reduced to one gallon arrack, four pounds
“ sugar, and one or two pounds of tobacco; and
“ this be deemed a whole sale.

LIQUORS RETAYLED.

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“ 13thly.—They desire that we would establish a certain rate upon liquors retayled by the punch-houses.

CAUSES.

“ 14thly.—They desire to be tryed by the civill law, and not by martiall law.

SHIPPS.

“ 15thly.—They desire the liberty that they always had to go on board of any ship when in the Road, asking the Government first.

TAXES.

“ 16thly.—They desire to be eased something in the tax of paying ten shillings every year for each black they have.

GAME.

“ 17thly.—They desire that each chief of family that has guns allowed them, may, for their diversion, have liberty to go a shooting.

GREAT WOOD.

“ 18thly.—They desire liberty to make use of the Great Wood and Common ; otherwise they will be ruined.

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LESSEES.

“ 19thly.—They desire lessees may vote for
“ parish officers ; and also serve in their turns.

“ And all these grievances they humbly begg
“ may be redrest, as by their ADDRESS, in the
“ following manner :—

“ ISLAND OF ST. HELENA :

“ That whereas your Worship and Councill
“ was pleased, on the 16th day of Aprill last
“ past, to summons thirty-six of the principal
“ inhabitants to the church in the country, and
“ there to hear the laws read over, which was
“ accordingly done: And foreasmuch as we were
“ a long time kept in the dark, and knew no-
“ thing of it ; the inhabitants so summoned did
“ by a consent, choose twelve of us to inspect
“ into them, and to make our remarks, upon
“ the promise of your Worship and Councill,
“ that in case of any grievance which appeared
“ reasonable, that your Worship and Councill
“ would be pleased to make address to the
“ Lords Proprietors for redress.

“ And this day we do with submission pre-
“ sent the same to your Worship and Councill,
“ with our remarks thereon, and hope you will
“ find them reasonable. And, in the mean

“ time, we shall be obedient to those laws and
“ orders delivered to the churchwardens on the
“ 26th of April last past.

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“ And whereas your Worship and Councill
“ having represented to us the necessity we are
“ in, for the good of ourselves and successors,
“ to use means for the preservation of wood,
“ which grows very scarce, and will inevitably
“ be, at last, the undoing of the island and the
“ inhabitants of it, if due care is not taken for
“ the maintaining of wood in planting the same;
“ Wee, making serious reflections on this ac-
“ count, come to this conclusion ; viz.

“ That every planter possessed of twenty
“ acres of land, shall be obliged to enclose one
“ acre, and plant it with wood, and so propor-
“ tionably for more or less ; and to take that
“ care that no cattle or hogs shall come to
“ graze on the said land, that the same wood so
“ growing may not be spoiled. And also, that
“ every planter shall, from the time of this re-
“ solution, be obliged to fence the said piece of
“ land in three years time. This is to be un-
“ derstood of those planters that have no wood
“ growing on their land, to take in any more
“ land for the same purpose.

“ After having made inspection into all the

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“ laws concerning this island which your Wor-
“ ship and Councill have bin pleased to com-
“ municate to us, to the end where we saw any
“ thing that was not agreeable to peace, and
“ against the common interest of the island, to
“ make our remarks thereon, and to give our
“ reasons for it, which we have done accord-
“ ingly : We hope, if your Worship and Coun-
“ cill find any thing in those remarks and rea-
“ sons that are not consonant with reason, will
“ not attribute it to us, as done on purpose to
“ infringe some of the properties that rightly
“ belong to the Honourable Company and the
“ Government of this place ; but are willing to
“ submit ourselves to any thing that reasonably
“ shall be established by your Worship and
“ Councill ; and that every one of us will
“ comply with the utmost of our power, for
“ we all know we must submit ourselves to our
“ superiors, not only for wrath, but conscience
“ sake also. And we hope that every one of
“ us and all together, will do our utmost en-
“ deavours to do any thing for the preservation
“ of this island, and the good of the Honourable
“ Company ; and that we promise that we will
“ not be remiss in our military dutys ; but when
“ occasion shall present, wee will not be frugal
“ of our blood, but ready to spil every drop of
“ it for the preservation of the island, our
“ wives and families, against any enemy that

“ shall come here to invade us. And finally,
 “ we give your Worship and Council our hum-
 “ ble thanks for having bin pleased to commu-
 “ nicate to us the aforeseid laws and constitu-
 “ tions for our perusal, that we might the better
 “ be enabled to know our duty (a thing which
 “ was never done before), but have always bin
 “ kept in ignorance of the same.

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“ We have no more to say to your Worship
 “ and Council ; but wishing you all the health
 “ imaginable in your government, and we a
 “ quiet and peaceable living under it, which we
 “ beseech Almighty God to grant to you and
 “ us, we remain

“ Your Worship and Council’s
 “ most humble and obedient servants,

“ HENRY COALS,
 “ JOHN NICHOLS,
 “ THOS. SWALLOW,
 “ ROBT. ADDIS,
 “ MATT. BAZETT,
 “ JAMES GREENTREE,
 “ HENRY FRANCIS,
 “ RICHARD GURLING,
 “ ORLANDO BAGLEY,
 “ CHARLES STEWARD,
 “ JOHN COLES,
 “ RICHARD SWALLOW.”

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To each of the foregoing articles the Governor and Council annexed their answers: and the committee, on the part of the inhabitants, subjoined a declaration, expressive of their satisfaction to most of the Council's resolutions, as follows: first,

ARMES.

“ As to armes, the Governor will give them
“ his warrant in the following manner to such
“ chiefs of families :

“ Forasmuch as the principal inhabitants of
“ this island have solicited to have armes in
“ their houses, which they think very necessary
“ to them (which the law prohibits), but the Go-
“ vernor and Council have dispensed with it ;

“ Wherefore this does give leave and licence
“ to you, Mr. A. B., for such necessary armes
“ as you think convenient ; which armes you
“ are to deliver up at any time when required
“ by order of the Governor for the time being ;

“ And you have further power to seize any
“ armes from any person that has not my li-
“ cence ; which armes shall be your's to dispose
“ of as you think fitt, giving me notice of the
“ person ; and for so doing this shall be your
“ warrant.

“ Given under my hand, this 14th day of
 “ May, 1709, at the United Castle, in James’s
 “ Valley. *Handwritten signature*

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“ JOHN ROBERTS.”

And then ordered that the following declaration be issued out :

“ ST. HELENA.

“ These are to give notice to all persons inhabiting the said island, that none do presume to possess, keep, or carry, any armes, without leave and licence first obtained from the Governor, under hand and seale, upon penalty of twenty shillings to the Honourable Company, and having the same seized and taken from them by any person licenced thereunto, for their owne use, and to receive such corporal punishment as the Governor and Council shall think fitt; and that no licenced person do lend, or permitt any person to make use of their armes, upon the penalty of having their licence and armes forfeited.

“ Dated the 31st day of May, 1709. At
 “ the United Castle, in James’s Valley.

“ Signed per order of the Governor and
 “ Council, per me,

“ JOHN ALEXANDER.

“ *They are sattisfied.*

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ASSEMBLYS.

“ 2ndly.—God forbid that any merry meetings and innocent diversions should be deemed riots : it’s not the intent of the law.

“ *Satisfied.*

ALARMS.

“ 3rdly.—You shall not suffer corporal punishment for not coming to alarms ; except it be in time of warr.

“ *Satisfied.*

BLACKS.

“ 4thly.—We shall dispense with that law of fourfold, and desire the Lords Proprietors to repeal it.

“ *Satisfied.*

MARKETTS.

“ 5thly.—As this law is not penall, we cannot see how it can be a grievance ; and altho’ marketts have never bin used, and not beneficial to the inhabitants, it is no rule it ever should, so in your favour we shall write to our Masters about it.

BEEFE.

“ 6thly.—You desire free liberty to sell beefe.

“ We shall write to our Masters in your favour
“ about it.

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DOGGS.

“ 7thly.—You desire not to lead your doggs
“ yourselves, but your servants.

“ We shall dispense with it.

“ *Sattisfied.*

CATTLE TOLLED.

“ 8thly.—You desire the toll of cattle may
“ be taken off, for that it creates you a great
“ deal of trouble.

“ It is necessary that we should know how
“ you sell your cattle to one another, because
“ of our Common, that it may both prejudice
“ you and us too by not knowing it.

CATTLE.

“ 9thly.—You desire that the trouble you are
“ put to, when you kill any cattle, in carrying
“ the hide, hornes, and ears, to persons ap-
“ pointed, may be redrest.

“ We designe to make this trouble easier to
“ you; but the law is of so great use to this

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“ island in generall: as for example, a man kills
 “ a beast, and sends for his next neighbour, he
 “ being a reputed man, and warranted by the
 “ Governor to have armes in his house; he
 “ shews him the mark of his beast that he has
 “ killed: That shall be a testimony sufficient,
 “ without going any further. Now the usefull-
 “ ness of it: A man loses a beast, and getts a
 “ warrant to search suspected houses, in which
 “ houses, if they find any beefe, if he cannot
 “ bring his testimony that he killed it at such a
 “ time, by such substantial men as aforesaid, or
 “ where he had the same, such person ought to
 “ be convicted.

“ And we believe if it went as far as hoggs,
 “ goats, and sheep, it would be much to your
 “ benefit, for (if we are rightly informed) that
 “ several suspected persons eat more flesh than
 “ we think in reason and conscience they are
 “ able to do if they come by it honestly.

“ *Satisfied.*

“ And ordered that a new statute be penned
 “ accordingly, and sent home by this shipping
 “ to the Honourable Lords Proprietors, for
 “ their concurrence; and that it take force
 “ from the publication.

LANDS.

“ 10thly.—You desire you may not be
“ obliged to fence in your lands at all ; it being
“ a new thing you never heard of before.

“ This law has bin made above twenty-seven
“ years ago, and no doubt but it hath bin pub-
“ lished, for it is what you hold your lands by.
“ And we must say, by this law, that what land
“ is not fenced in, is, by course, the Lords Pro-
“ prietors : We have no other way to know
“ which is your land and which is theirs. How-
“ ever, because you say you have bin so long
“ kept in the dark, by not knowing any thing
“ of it, we shall, for this time, neglect our duty
“ in making seizures, and will intercede with
“ the Lords Proprietors that the time appointed
“ for enclosing may begin anew from the 25th
“ of March last. In the mean time friendly
“ advise you to enclose as fast as you can, least
“ we should be checkt for this our neglect of
“ duty, and receive orders from them to make
“ seizures.

CAUSES BY JURYS.

“ 11thly.—You desire all other matters may
“ be tryed by juries besides life, limb, and lands,
“ as the plaintiffe shall think fitt,

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V.From 1708
to 1714.

“ No Governor and Councill will trouble
“ themselves to give sentence upon intricate
“ matters, and that may be of great importance,
“ as you urge by giving a definitive sentence,
“ tho’ never so just, seldom pleases both par-
“ tys, which creates an odium to the Governor
“ and Councill, when the same thing may be
“ judged by yourselves. As the Governor is
“ Judge of that court, he ought to be a judge
“ what shall be tryed by jurys, and what he him-
“ self will try in Councill; otherwise, a litigious
“ man that hath wealth, and a cause depending
“ with a poor man, altho’ a trifling one, shall
“ come and demand to be tryed by a jury,
“ which will create the poor man such a charge
“ that he will rather sit down in his wrong.

“ The Governor would willingly put you in
“ mind, that he hath refused to try severall
“ causes in Councill, as some of you know.

“ And, indeed, to take all this matter right,
“ we look upon it as a burden our Masters has
“ laid upon us to ease you.

“ *Satisfied* that the Governor shall
“ be judge of what shall be tryed
“ in Councill, and what in Court,
“ except life, limb, and land.

LIQUOR.

CHAP.

V.

From 1708
to 1714.

“ 12thly.—You desire that the liquor called
“ wholesale, being three gallons, may be re-
“ duced to one gallon arrack, four pounds su-
“ gar, and one or two pound of tobacco, be
“ deemed wholesale.

“ We cannot see what occasion there is to
“ deem any thing wholesale less than what is
“ expressed in the law, without prejudice and
“ wrong to those who pay for lycences. And
“ you all know very well that you may have
“ what small quantity you please out of the
“ stores, even to a pound, or quart, of any
“ thing.

“ *Sattisfied.*

DITTO, RETAYLED.

“ 13thly.—You desire that we would esta-
“ blish certaine rates upon liquor retayled by
“ the punch-houses.

“ ORDERED,

“ That the following declaration be issued
“ out:

“ These are to give notice to all lycencees,
“ or retaylers of strong liquors, that a bowle of
“ punch, made with one pint of arrack, with

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“ sugar and lemon answerable, be, from the day
 “ of the date hereof, sold at two shillings per
 “ bowle, and no more, while arrack is at six
 “ shillings per gallon: and if any one presumes
 “ to exact more, shall, upon information thereof
 “ given to the Governor and Councill, forfeit
 “ their lycence, and double the value. Which
 “ pint of arrack aforesaid is to be put into such
 “ sizeable bowle as will not be too strong, nor
 “ yet too weak, but palatable and pleásant for
 “ the buyer. But if any lycencee or retayler of
 “ liquor shall think this not a sufficient profit,
 “ they may deliver up their lycences, paying
 “ proportionable for the time they have had it,
 “ after the rate of four pounds per annum;
 “ which all such retaylers are to do within eight
 “ days from the date hereof.

“ *Satisfied.*

MARTIAL LAW.

“ 14thly.—You desire to be tryed by civill
 “ law, and not by martiall law.

“ We shall write to our Masters about it;
 “ we think it is but reason that the planters
 “ should be tryed by the civill law, except it be
 “ in time of war and action, or, that we hope
 “ never to see, rebellion, cowardice, neglect of
 “ duty, which may be the ruine of the island,

“ and severall other misdemeanors, in time of
“ action, which cannot be judged by the civil
“ law ; and we likewise design in our court
“ martiall to choose such of the worthy people
“ of this island to be of it.

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—
From 1708
to 1714.

“ *Satisfied.*

GOING ON BOARD SHIPS.

“ 15thly.—You desire the liberty that you
“ always had of going on board any ship or
“ ships in the Road, asking the Governor’s
“ leave.

“ It is what our Masters say was never done
“ at the Cape, or, as we know of, done in any
“ other Dutch factory in India ; however, if
“ there be any urgent occasion, the Governor,
“ at that time, will not deny them leave.

“ *Satisfied.*

BLACK’S TAX.

“ 16thly.—You desire to be eased something
“ in the tax of ten shillings every year for each
“ black you have.

“ There is no nation under the hopes of
“ Heaven, nay, we are apt to believe, if there
“ be any wild people, they contribute to their

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From 1708
to 1714.

“ own safety in some measure. And if any man
“ will look into our mother-country, England,
“ we shall there find the four shillings in the
“ pound tax alone gives the Queen, every fifth
“ year, their whole estate, besides taxes of win-
“ dow lights, parrish dutys, and Parsons tythes,
“ and sundry other taxes, which every English-
“ man knows that he that has five hundred
“ pound per annum never gets in above three
“ hundred pound, and very well if that. And
“ now that the honourable Company has, for
“ six years last past, paid for fortifications, by
“ employing the blacks and artificers of this
“ island, about fifteen hundred pound a year,
“ besides the constant charge of the garrison,
“ &c. for your preservation. We shall only
“ now give you our Masters’ reasons; but must
“ tell you we little expected, at this time of day,
“ such an article from you; which, indeed, as
“ we find, by a medium of six years last past,
“ amounts but to fifty-eight pounds per annum :
“ a great mite to such a vast charge.

“ The reason of which order is, as the Ne-
“ groes increase upon the island, it will be
“ necessary for the Honourable Company pro-
“ portionably to increase the garrison and sol-
“ diers, for the security of the inhabitants, as
“ well as the island.

LYSENCE TO SHOOT.

CHAP.
V.From 1708
to 1714.

“ 17thly.—You desire that each chief of a
“ family that have guns allowed you may have
“ liberty to go a shooting for your diversion.

“ You must keep within the law of the pre-
“ servation of game. But if any person should
“ desire any further privilege, they are not to
“ presume to do it without leave first had of
“ the Governor, which is left to his pleasure to
“ give or let alone.

“ *Sattisfied.*

GREAT WOOD.

“ 18thly.—You desire leave of the Great
“ Wood and Common.

“ Provided you will agree to make a law to
“ plant one acre of wood in every ten acres of
“ land you possess; otherwise you shall have
“ no benefit of our Wood or Common, as our
“ published order.

“ *Agreed to and Sattisfied.*

LESSEES.

“ 19thly.—You desire lessees may vote for
“ election of parrish officers, and serve in their
“ turns.

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to 1714.

“ We shall dispense with that, and write to
 “ the Lords Proprietors to repeal that law, and
 “ hope they will comply.

“ *Sattisfied.*”

The land-holders, therefore (by the 18th article), readily acceded to any terms rather than lose the advantage of so valuable a common; and the proposition of the Council on this subject, as well as on the other articles submitted to their consideration, appears to have met with the acquiescence of the Company;* but the law which required the hide, ears, and horns, of every beast slaughtered, to be exhibited to certain specified persons, was enforced with greater rigour than before.†

* Some further regulations were promulged, or republished, at the same period; for particulars of which see Appendix, H.

† “ By the Governor and Council, and the inhabitants of
 “ the island of St. Helena.

“ A LAW

“ *For the better prevention and apprehending of felons.*

“ Whereas great and grievous complaints have been
 “ made, by severall good people of the island, that divers
 “ felonyes, larcenyys, and pelfrages, and such like offences,
 “ are many times done, to their great loss and prejudice.
 “ And that severall idle and evil disposed persons do kill
 and

Under the vigilant eye of the Governor, rapid progress was made in the work at Munden's

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to 1714.

“ and eat more flesh than they can be reasonably supposed
“ to do conscientiously and honestly : And we are further
“ credibly informed, and inclined to believe, that the clan-
“ destine way and method used in this island, among the
“ people, of killing, offering, and putting to sale, their cat-
“ tle, goods, and other merchandize, in private manner,
“ and obscure places, not bringing the same to markett, or
“ selling the same in open shopps, or stalls, is a great cause
“ of such enormitys ; for that such private and secret sales
“ and slaughters are found to be the means of encouraging
“ many thieves, who easily convey the said goods, by them
“ stolen and pilfered, to shipping and strangers, that there
“ can be nothing found against them to their conviction.

“ For remedy whereof, and for the better detecting and
“ apprehending of all such lewd persons, and bringing them
“ to condign punishment,

“ We do absolutely enjoin all and every person or per-
“ sons inhabiting the said island, that, from henceforth,
“ when they kill for their own use, or others, or kill, ex-
“ change, or part with, any kinde of beast, or cattle, as
“ oxen, runts, steers, kine, heifers, calves, sheep, lambs,
“ goats, kidds, hoggs, they shall be obliged to repair to, or
“ send for, and give notice thereof to some person or per-
“ sons warranted by the Governor to keep arms, who are
“ hereby appointed and empowered to view, inspect,
“ search, and examine, the ears, hides, and horns, of every
“ beast so killed, or to be sold, whereby to be informed and
“ satisfied that it hath the true and proper mark of the
“ owner, or possessor, and whose mark, or that the dis-
“ poser, or seller, hath a property therein. And if any
o 3 person

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to 1714.

Point; and the Company's orders for erecting barracks, which had been very incompletely

“ person or persons shall presume or endeavour fraudu-
 “ lently to hide, or conceale, any such sale, or slaughter,
 “ or kill, or dispose of, any beast, without notice given,
 “ and search made, as aforesaid, otherwise, than according
 “ to this law, and be thereof lawfully convicted, he, they,
 “ and every one of them, shall be, and are hereby declared,
 “ and shall be deemed and adjudged, as felons; and the
 “ beast so concealed, not viewed, and unlawfully killed, or
 “ made away, shall be forfeited, the one half to the Honour-
 “ able Company, and the other half to the informer, or
 “ prosecutor. And we do further declare, that any person
 “ or persons, warranted by the Governor to keep arms,
 “ shall have power to enter into and search (as for stolen
 “ goods), the houses of all and every unlicensed person
 “ whom they shall vehemently suspect, by circumstance
 “ or otherwise, fraudulently and clandestinely to kill any
 “ meat, and where any flesh, or skins of a beast, shall be
 “ found, of which they can give no reasonable or good ac-
 “ count how they came by the same, or produce the party
 “ of whom they bought the same, or some credible witness
 “ of the sale thereof; he, or they, shall be subject to the
 “ forfeiture and penalties of clandestinely and feloniously
 “ killing a beast, as if thereof convicted.

“ And we do hereby further declare, that any per-
 “ son, not licensed to keep armes, shall be obliged to
 “ get two licensed persons to view and examine the marks;
 “ but when any person, having the Governor's warrant for
 “ arms, do kill, sell, or dispose of any, the testimony of
 “ one single person shall be sufficient.

“ And we do further declare and enjoin, that all and
 “ every

effected under Governor Blackmore, were carried into execution. As a proper and commodious house was much wanting on the Company's principal farm (the present residence of the Governor), a suitable edifice was constructed there; and on account of its central situation, the Governor proposed adopting it as a place of arms.

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To fertilize the extensive plain which lies between Long Wood and Prosperous Bay, was another object on which the zealous mind of the Governor was intent. On examining the soil, he was convinced that, with the aid of water, it might be rendered productive; an opinion which has since been realized by an experiment, on a small scale, of Lieutenant-Governor Graham. But it may be doubted whether water could be conveyed thither in a sufficient quantity to be of any essential benefit, without seriously inter-

“ every inhabitant do, at the marking of their cattle, procure
“ one, or more, sufficient witness, to be then and there present:
“ sent: but always the unlicensed person to have two present,
“ as witness of their actions, upon the penalty aforesaid.

“ And we do further declare, that the informer, or prosecutor, shall have, over and above the half of the beast
“ forfeited, and clandestinely made away with, as aforesaid,
“ half the four-fold, being part of the penaltys inflicted on
“ felons.”

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fering with the supply conducted to the much more valuable lands of Long Wood and Dead Wood. The undertaking was however commenced, but was not prosecuted after the resignation of Captain Roberts, whose government, most unfortunately for the island, terminated in August 1711. He had intimated to the Company his desire of returning to England, and Captain Boucher, who was appointed to succeed, arrived in the above month.

Captain Roberts's government may very justly be said to form a new era in the history of St. Helena. The preceding chapters sufficiently point out what must have been the state of the colony upon his arrival. The general disorder demanded a reform such as could scarcely be expected to take place within some years ; but the accumulated defects which had arisen and multiplied under his predecessors, were at once corrected by his upright, decided, and able conduct.

At a meeting of the inhabitants, shortly after he assumed the government, he made the following declaration :—" Gentlemen, I am very jealous of my Masters' honour, and it is not in my power to receive any affront if I would ; for, as I and these gentlemen of the Council

“ represent them, so no affront can be put upon
 “ me, but must immediately fall upon the Lords
 “ Proprietors. No man shall come to me with
 “ a civil question but shall receive a civil an-
 “ swer; and I would have you assure yourselves
 “ that sudden affronts shall receive sudden
 “ punishment.” To this resolution his actions
 well corresponded; the factious and turbulent
 were humbled before him, and attention to busi-
 ness, regularity, and economy, were established
 in every department; whilst strict justice, im-
 partiality, a conscientious regard to the Com-
 pany’s interests, temper, candour, and humanity,
 distinguished the measures of this excellent Go-
 vernor. His labours probably derived some aid
 from the chaplain, Mr. Tomlinson, who is men-
 tioned as a worthy character, and is the first in-
 stance of such a clergyman that appears on
 record for thirty years back. A tranquillity
 hitherto unknown obtained, at last, a compara-
 tively permanent foundation; and from this
 period the island assumed a new character.

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But a vigorous execution of laws which had
 long remained disregarded, and the upright prin-
 ciples of Captain Roberts, appear to have ren-
 dered him obnoxious to those who were desirous
 of accommodating their private views at the ex-
 pense of the Company’s interest; and, as truth

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and justice could form no basis for open remonstrance, secret misrepresentation and detraction were the only weapons that could be employed against him with any probability of success.

George Hoskinson, a wealthy planter, had, by a breach of the laws, incurred a forfeiture of his lands;* and is mentioned on record as a

* Extract from consultation, dated the 7th of January 1709-10 :—

“ Whereas, by the laws and constitution of this island,
“ the conditions and obligations whereby people hold and
“ possess lands, so that all and every person possessing and
“ enjoying any land in this island, shall, for the preserva-
“ tion and defence thereof, keep and maintain two English
“ persons on every twenty acres of land, whereof one a man
“ able to bear arms.

“ Also, by another statute, it is ordained, that if any
“ person or persons, having inhabited on any parcell of
“ land allotted to him or them, and planted and improved
“ the same, and shall afterwards desert the said plantation,
“ so that for six months there shall not inhabit and be
“ maintained on every twenty acres two persons and two
“ cows, and on ten acres one man and one cow, that then
“ it shall be lawful for the Governor and Council of the said
“ island, and they are thereby required, to seize the same
“ into their hands for the use of the Honourable East-India
“ Company, and to re-dispose of the same, notwithstanding
“ the former allotment or grant to such person or persons,
“ or any other matter or thing to the contrary.

“ Now

person who, with the exception of murder, “it
“ would be no hard matter to prove had broke
“ through all laws both of God and man.”

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“ Now whereas George Hoskinson is actually possessed
“ of, and stands charged with, the severall plantations fol-
“ lowing; that is to say,

“ 1st. An estate at the Horse-pasture, containing fifty
“ acres of land, purchased formerly of Richard Gurling.

“ 2nd. The estate of William Frenche’s orphans, con-
“ taining forty acres.

“ 3rd. The estate of Bowman’s children, containing
“ eighty acres.

“ 4th. The estate of Beale’s orphans, containing sixty
“ acres.

“ 5th. Land purchased of Captain Goodwin. Ten
“ acres.

“ 6th. Three acres of Keeling’s children.

“ 7th. And twenty-five acres hired of the Honourable
“ Company. Containing, in the whole, two hundred and
“ sixty eight acres of land. Whereon formerly did live
“ and inhabit six familys, at least, and consequently six
“ able men, that bore arms for the defence of the island, at
“ least.

“ Now the aforesaid George Hoskinson having, on or
“ about the 6th of July, 1708, clandestinely left the said
“ island,

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Hoskinson had proceeded to England, and, by a plausible statement, recovered his pos-

“ island, without licence under the hand of the Governor
“ and Council, which the law requires in that case, which
“ is an evident desertion of all the lands, plantations, and
“ possessions aforesaid, thereby exposing and weakening
“ the island, especially now, in the very heat of war, and
“ in contempt of the laws of the island, and the funda-
“ mental constitution thereof.

“ And forasmuch as it is our duty, and what is required
“ of us by the Lords Proprietors, to see that the laws be
“ impartially executed; and we are sorry at this time that
“ George Hoskinson and his wife should give us so just a
“ cause to take away their estate, which, out of pity to
“ his wife and children, have deferred so long, contrary to
“ our duty to her sacred Majesty Queen Anne, of Great
“ Britain, &c., and to the people of this island, for the pre-
“ servation of them and their familys to futurity.

“ Wherefore it is unanimously resolved, that the laws
“ and constitution do require, that all and singular the
“ severall possessions, land, and plantations, aforesaid, in
“ the possession of the said George Hoskinson, shall and are
“ therefore forfeited to the Honourable Lords Proprietors
“ of this island; reserving, notwithstanding, to ourselves
“ the restitution of the orphans' lands, which they may
“ justly and lawfully claim, and due application will be
“ made to the Lords Proprietors in their behalf.”

The Council were, at the same time, desirous of alleviating Mrs. Hoskinson's distress as much as possible. The following is an extract from consultation, dated 17th January, 1709-10 :—

“ ORDERED,

sessions, and returned to the island, with Governor Boucher, in the capacity of Deputy-Governor. But the Company were soon undeceived with regard to his character; and his death, which happened shortly after, was probably the only circumstance which could have saved him from a disgraceful dismissal.

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Before Captain Roberts left the island, he offered his aid and advice to promote the improvements in progress, as well as those which had been in contemplation. As he was informed of charges against him for tyranny and oppression, particularly in the case of Hoskinson and his family, he requested that a proclamation might be issued, requiring his accusers to stand forth, and engaging, if it could be proved that

“ ORDERED,

“ That Mrs. Hoskinson should have the liberty to live
“ upon old Bowman’s land, and have the provisions upon
“ young Bowman’s land, her former husband, and also
“ the provisions upon the ten acres they bought of Captain
“ Goodwin, for the term of one year, commencing from the
“ day of the date hereof; paying to us, for the use of the
“ Lords Proprietors, four shillings per acre rent, and one
“ shilling per acre revenues, according to the custom of
“ letting lands on this island; and that she doe not pre-
“ sume to endamage the said lands, in no respect whatso-
“ ever, but, as they dig yams, she doe cause to be planted
“ the like quantity.”

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he had acted with injustice towards any man, he would make retribution to the uttermost far-thing. To this offer he received a most ungracious answer, in which new accusations were brought forward ; and though the Council expressed their willingness to issue the proclamation desired, yet it does not appear that any such notice was published, and the insertion of his reply to the Council's illiberal reflections seems to have been intentionally omitted in the records.*

* Copy of a letter from Captain Roberts to Governor Boucher and Council :—

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ Sept. 24, 1711.

“ The commanders of the last summer shipping, both
“ men of warr and merchant men, advised me by all means
“ to mount the biggest gunns there was upon the island in
“ that castle I was then building at Munden's Point.

“ Of the same opinion were all the commanders of this
“ summer shipping ; and, had there been materials, I had
“ then mounted them.

“ But now there is timber and cordage enough, and I
“ think there is the same blocks I purchased the demi-
“ cannon on shore with ; and though it may take more
“ time, for want of more blocks, yet I hope to see 'em all
“ mounted before I go off, and to forward the same I shall
“ not be wanting with my best help, assistance and advice.
“ And likewise shall shew the scheme of what fortifica-
“ tions

But this injurious treatment of a man whose

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“ tions and buildings was designed more, and the draught
“ of the lee part of this island, where, and in what places,
“ and what sort of fortifications was to be built.

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“ And also shall give you an account of improving this
“ island, or any other matters I am capable to advise you
“ of, that may any way tend to the Honourable Com-
“ pany's interest and concerns; being in hopes to have the
“ honour, when I come home, to serve them in another
“ capacity, and therefore shall intirely submit to their
“ judgement, to gratify me for any service I am capable to
“ do them.

“ I am further to acquaint you, that I have a long time
“ waited with patience, and avoided all manner of conver-
“ sation, being informed that George Hoskinson was to
“ sue me for damages about the seizure of his land.

“ And likewise, that the cause of John Alexander should
“ have a re-hearing; and also the cause of the widow
“ Alexander, now the wife of Thomas Gargen.

“ As also the cause of Humphry Edwards; and a ser-
“ geant that was dismiss.

“ But finding so much time gone, and nothing done in
“ relation to these affairs, therefore I desire that for any
“ faults committed during my government, they may be
“ heard as soon as possible, that so where any injustice or
“ wrong has been done, they may have satisfaction while I
“ am here.

“ The sooner, I say, these matters are decided the bet-
“ ter,

CHAP. V. merits had been so conspicuous, together with

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“ ter, because I have some matters to lay before you that
“ tend to the Honourable Company’s interest, and to the
“ good and welfare of this island, which will not ly regu-
“ larly before you to effect those good ends till these causes
“ are over.

“ This being your consultation day, I have desired Mr.
“ Joseph Tomlinson to deliver you this.

“ I am, Gentlemen,

“ Your humble servant,

“ JOHN ROBERTS.

“ P. S. For my part, Gentlemen, I am very desirous, if
“ you think it convenient, that an order be published by
“ beat of drum, for any person that can prove I have
“ wronged ’em to the vallue of a groat, I will make ’em a
“ round satisfaction: the same I’ll do to any person that
“ can prove I have got a groat by ’em.”

The Governor and Council’s answer.

“ SIR,

“ 3 October, 1711.

“ Your letter of the 24th September (by Mr. Thomlin-
“ son) we have received, and considered, and doe answer.

“ Tis doubtful to us whether it was the opinion of all
“ the commanders of last and this summer shipping that
“ demi-cannon be mounted at Munden’s fort, since we can
“ no where finde any minutes taken by you and Councill
“ of such opinions; and it appearing to us (upon very
“ good reasons we shall shortly have the honour to trans-
“ mitt to our Masters) that less guns will answer the same
“ end,

the circumstance that some of the members

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“ end, shall mount but few, if any, demi-canon at that
“ fort; and, as to the manner of mounting them, shall
“ take the quickest and cheapest method we are capable of;
“ which, though it may be different from any projected
“ scheme of your’s, we hope will not (for that reason) be
“ displeasing to our Masters. That work being in good
“ forwardness, hope, by the time you may be going off,
“ they may be most of them mounted. By the way, beg
“ you to take notice that fort is not in a condition to re-
“ ceive guns.

“ We shall, upon all occasions, readily accept your as-
“ sistance and advice for the interest of the Honourable
“ Company; but beg you will never offer either but with
“ sinceritie.

“ Your scheme of additionall fortifications, when we see
“ them, shall have our opinions: as likewise what improve-
“ ments you designed to make on this island. Be pleased
“ to be assured none will receive projects of this kind with
“ more real satisfaction than ourselves; our intentions be-
“ ing very just towards their service who have done us the
“ honour to employ us.

“ As to the several cases mentioned in your’s to be yet
“ undecided, as Hoskinson’s, Alexander’s, Edward’s, &c.
“ we have and shall strictly follow the directions of the
“ Honourable Court of Directors given us; but must take
“ notice, by the bye, that it was not possible for you to
“ know we had any instructions relating to the above men-
“ tioned, but by some of our Council, which remark we
“ must transmitt to our Masters.

P

“ We

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of Council had been prevented entering their

“ We cannot readily guess what matters you may have
“ to offer for our Masters’ interest which need be inter-
“ rupted by any delay in the affairs of those private per-
“ sons before mentioned; but there has been no delay on
“ our sides, and we wonder you do not know it. You
“ conclude with your offer of restitution and reparation for
“ all injuries done in your government, and we are willing
“ to have the whole island know it by beat of drum.

“ ’Tis the opinion of the Honourable Court of Directors
“ that in the seizure of Hoskinson’s land you went too far,
“ and we are sure that you went yet further than they
“ ever knew; and if seizure of land be deemed lawfull in
“ his case, which was the extent of the penalty, you could
“ have no just excuse for destroying all his cattle, and
“ permitting his wife to be insulted; and further, had he
“ incurred the forfeiture of land (which, according to proof
“ in England, and he is much better able to prove it here,
“ he did not), how comes orphans’ lands to be equally
“ liable, which he had but in trust: This we humbly pre-
“ sume is against the laws of England; but we hope, since
“ you have offered it, you’ll make ample satisfaction to
“ both; and this being done, we shall have reason to be-
“ lieve you’ll do the same wherever any further complaints
“ may be made.*

“ We are your loving friends.”

From Captain Roberts to the Governor and Council.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ I desire the letter I carried to you myself, the 30th of
“ October

* For a very positive and decisive answer to this illiberal letter, read the extracts from the Company’s letters to the Council, contained in the following note.

dissent to a groundless charge against him of tyranny towards Hoskinson, did not escape the just indignation of the Company.*

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“ October last, which was an answer to your’s of the same
“ month, may be sent home, or the copy, by this ship;
“ and since so little notice has been taken of that letter, I
“ think it needless to say more.

“ I am,

“ With respect to the Honourable Company,

“ Gentlemen,

Your humble servant,

“ JOHN ROBERTS.

“ On board the Mead frigatt,

“ Nov. 26, 1711.”

* Extract from the Company’s letter to the Council, dated 30th May, 1712:—

“ If any of you dissent, let such dissent be entered in
“ consultation, that we may judge of it who is in the right
“ or wrong; and we expect, if any one of you offer to give
“ his reasons in writing for his dissent, that all the rest shall
“ not, by their votes, hinder his entering those reasons in
“ consultation, or in the general letter, as we are told was
“ very lately done, in the case of those who would not sign
“ that groundless charge in your letter of the third of Oc-
“ tober, to Captain Roberts, that he had destroyed all
“ Mr. Hoskinson’s, &c. We call it groundless, because he
“ denied it, and challenged you to prove he destroyed any
“ one, which you never did.

“ We don’t take it well that you never gave Captain
“ Roberts an answer to his letter of the 30 of October,

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Captain Boucher seems to have assumed the government with the intention of pursuing as opposite a line of conduct as possible to that of

“ which is a letter of business, and looks to us that it was a
“ letter of truth, because not contradicted, tho’ the ship
“ stayed a month longer: true it is Captain Boucher sent
“ us what he calls an answer to it, dated 1st December,
“ which appears more like contention about words, and is
“ rather filled with the art and sophistry of the schools,
“ than solid reasoning and plain argument.”

Extract from the Company’s letter to the Council, dated
20th March, 1712:—

“ That as to Mrs. Hoskinson’s large letter of complaint,
“ we can’t see any reason to take notice of it; because,
“ having examined Captain Roberts on every the articles
“ she complains against him for, he referred us to the letter
“ he wrote you the 30 October, wherein he denied the
“ then charge on this score, which was much of the same
“ nature with her letter, and challenged you to disprove
“ him in any one article; and by what appears to us you
“ never did, tho’ Mr. Hoskinson was then living himself,
“ and sat as judge, as well as accuser, and Captain Roberts
“ stayed on the island above a month after; so that it ap-
“ pears to us to be an artfull calumny, with plausible
“ colours put upon it: this we say for the sake of the pen-
“ man who wrote her letter, and who also sent us what he
“ called an answer to that letter, wherein is no want of
“ hard reflections, but not a word of accusation of Mr.
“ Hoskinson, which, if true, would have afforded sufficient
“ matter for him to have harangued upon with his pen dipt
“ in vinegar and gall.”

his predecessor ; and accordingly we hear no more of sugar-works, the manufacture of wine, brandy, bricks, or tiles, or of endeavours to promote improvement of any kind. Without much economy in the management of such lands as were already in the Company's possession, he adopted a system of purchasing every plantation that was for sale, until the decreased number of land-holders became a subject of extreme anxiety and alarm.* The produce of the Company's farms was wasted by the most wanton extravagance, and a fine herd of deer totally extirpated. The Plantation-House gardens were laid waste, and thrown into pasture for the Governor's asses, of which he kept a numerous stud; and that he might take his favourite exercise of riding them

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* Extract from the Company's letter to the Governor and Council, dated 30th May, 1712:—

“ We don't at all like that you have bought in so many
“ plantations, and thereby the severall familys have left
“ the island. We can't see what authority you had for so
“ doing, nor how those plantations will turn to better ac-
“ count in our hands than in the planter's: what can you
“ think will become of the island if we had it all in our
“ hands; it is against all policy to contribute to the de-
“ populating any place, as this naturally tends to: there
“ must be some secret reason for this, as that the people
“ can't quietly live, or the like, which makes them desire
“ to leave the place.”

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in all weathers, a shed, of four hundred feet in length, was erected, at the Company's expense. The misconduct and bad management of this man were the more pernicious in their effects, as the island was, at the same period, suffering under the calamities of a dry season. Two thousand five hundred head of black cattle perished for want of food and water; and to such extremities was the island reduced, that a plot was formed among the garrison to seize the persons of the Governor and Council, and to plunder the stores of all articles of provision. This conspiracy was happily detected in time to prevent its execution. A pretext was easily found for taking the flints from the firelocks of the suspected persons; and, on the following morning, private orders were given for firing an alarm; and the militia appearing in arms, gave so decided a superiority on the part of Government, the garrison being only one hundred and twenty in number, that the principal mutineers were secured and imprisoned, and, under the succeeding government, sent to Bencoolen at their own request.

The various fortifications which were in progress when Governor Roberts resigned the situation, were suffered by Captain Boucher to remain as he left them, excepting the Governor's

apartments in the Castle, which were well fitted up; but when he left the island, the house was stripped of almost every thing portable, even to the locks on the doors.

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That he might lose no advantage in his private commercial projects, and ensure a ready sale for his own commodities, he fixed such exorbitant prices on goods of a similar quality in the public stores, that the inhabitants were unable to purchase them; and he was no less unreasonable in fixing the price of those articles which he bought on the Company's account to serve his own friends.

It may seem extraordinary that these unwarrantable proceedings met with no opposition from the Council. The death of one member, and the sickness of another, afforded him a pretext for calling in two creatures of his own, to assist at the deliberations of the Board; so that he had little difficulty in carrying any of his unjustifiable schemes into execution.

After a government of three years, the Company gladly accepted Captain Boucher's resignation; when they ordered him to refund the money laid out in building his riding-house; and concluded some of their animadversions on his

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V. "your predecessors!"

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On the 29th of June, 1714, Governor Boucher embarked for England, leaving the government in charge of Captain Matthew Bazett, who was superseded, nine days after, by the arrival of Governor Pyke and a new Council, in which Captain Bazett, in addition to the office of Storekeeper, was appointed to take his seat as fourth member.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE YEAR 1714 TO THE YEAR 1741.

Bad seasons—Mischief by a water-spout—Great sickness and mortality—Planters' petition against ships touching at the Cape—The system of numerous small farms preferred to few large ones—Mr. Johnson's government—He dies; and is succeeded by Mr. Byfield—Captain Smith appointed Governor—His oppressive conduct—Is superseded by Mr. Byfield—Attention to the preservation of wood—Goats and sheep destroyed for ten years—Goat ranges—Mr. Byfield's good management and economy—A party formed against him—He resigns; and Mr. Pyke is appointed a second time to the government—His arbitrary and illegal conduct—Dies; and is succeeded by Mr. Goodwin—Mr. Goodwin's death—Mr. Crespe succeeds; and is superseded by Governor Jenkins—Discovery of frauds—Major Lambert appointed Governor.

GOVERNOR PYKE'S attention was principally directed to the agricultural improvement of the island; but in this he had many obstacles to encounter, from blighting winds, a drought, and great mortality among both whites and blacks,

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in the year 1718. A deluge, in the following year, supposed to have been produced by the breaking of a water-spout over Sandy Bay Ridge, occasioned very serious and extensive damage. The water is described to have “descended with mighty floods and torrents, carrying away the soil in an incredible manner, with both grass, trees, yams, and stone walls before it; it brought down rocks of a mighty bulk, and covered abundance of fruitful land with stones.” The sea for many miles around was discoloured with mud, many families were nearly ruined, and it required much industry to repair the mischief; but it was the operation of time alone that could restore to the hills their lost covering. A considerable importation of slaves took place during this government, to forward the plantations of yam; and Governor Roberts’s hope of obviating the necessity of purchasing this article from individuals, became realized by its increased production, until subsequent bad seasons again compelled a recourse to the planters. Of the yam there were two sorts, one called the mountain yam, the other the wet yam. The latter is the same kind as at present grows on the island. Of the former species, none now remains. As it was reckoned a very unwholesome food in rainy seasons, its loss is little to be regretted; particularly since

the cultivation of potatoes has lately become so general. But even the other sort of yam was supposed to possess certain noxious qualities, and that the only antidote to the evil was a free use of spirituous liquors. Governor Pyke's observation on this subject appears in the following extract of a letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 19th of March, 1717:—

“ As an alteration of weather often happens
“ here in less than an hour's space, from sultry
“ heat to very cold, and the mountainy parts of
“ the country is not only windy, but always ex-
“ posed to great damps and fogs, even in the
“ times we call the dry seasons, we are apt to
“ think it easier to drink water for a constancy
“ in England than in this place. The physical
“ people we sometimes converse with (that is,
“ the ship surgeons) tell us, that strong liquor
“ is necessary to all people who have no other
“ bread but these watery roots (for a yam is
“ called the water-parsnip); and we also find it
“ so; wherefore, tho' we shall encourage tem-
“ perance and sobriety, as well by our example
“ as precept, yet it is in vain to dissuade the
“ use of arrack among these people, who pre-
“ fer it before the choicest wines.” The suc-
ceeding Governor, in his correspondence, ex-
pressed himself much to the same effect, and
stated that, as the rainy season was soon ex-

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pected, fifteen legars of arrack had been purchased, to preserve the health of the inhabitants.

But it seems that this liquor was deemed as necessary a medicine in dry as in wet seasons. This theory certainly favoured a practice which has been generally very prevalent ; yet it may be doubted whether persons residing at St. Helena require a greater proportion of strong beverage than those in England ; but that temperance is as requisite in the one country as the other, experience has placed beyond all question. It ought indeed to be remarked, that many amongst those who have attained the greatest age at St. Helena, have been such as lived temperately, dieted much on yam, and resided among the damps and fogs which Governor Pyke supposed were so prejudicial to the constitution.

During the drought, which is mentioned to have taken place in the year 1718, a very extraordinary and unprecedented instance occurred of a N.W. wind, which continued for three weeks, and, together with the dry season, was supposed to have been the cause of dangerous distempers, the nature of which the records do not state ; but it appears, that out of five hundred and thirty whites, including the garrison, thirty died within six months ; and amongst three hundred and twenty blacks the mortality was in a still

greater proportion. Even in healthy seasons, according to Governor Pyke's calculation, the annual decrease in the number of blacks newly imported was two in fifteen, and amongst those inured to the climate, one in ten.* To show how far an opposite effect has been produced by the consequences of a mild system of juris-

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* Whether this calculation is applied to the slaves belonging to the Company, or to the general body of that class of persons on the island, is not positively expressed; but that it refers only to the former appears probable, by the two following extracts from the official correspondence.

Extract from the general letter, dated 22d February 1716:—

“ We are told it was for want of care, and not a sufficiency of victuals, occasioned the loss of them” (the blacks);
“ that the planters who have any regard for their blacks,
“ provide better, or they wou'd soon loose them.”

Extract from the general letter, dated 21st March, 1717:—

“ Planters take great care of their slaves, and nurse
“ them well, as remembering they live by their labour;
“ and therefore a few of theirs do them more service than
“ many of ours.”

N. B. It was calculated that the labour of one slave was capable of raising provision sufficient to feed four men.—
Const., May, 1719.

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prudence, which divests slavery in St. Helena of every thing inhuman except the name, nothing more is necessary than to contrast the above calculation with the following fact. In the year 1792 the present code of slave laws was promulgated, by which the further importation of slaves was interdicted; the official returns in that year stated the number of blacks upon the island at 1501; and by the same document it appears, that in the year 1805 they had increased to 1560.

It has already been mentioned, that, in the original distribution of lands, no more than forty acres, at the most, were allowed to one individual; but in the course of some years, by different transfers of property, many persons became possessed of large farms, containing from two to three hundred acres, contrary to the system of policy laid down by the Company. For although, after the insurrection in the year 1684, they proposed to maintain a sufficient regular force upon the island, in preference to a militia, yet this intention was never followed up; and, in reprobating the measures of Governor Boucher, which tended to depopulate the island, they instructed Governor Pyke to adopt means of increasing the number of land-holders, by preventing the growth of extensive farms,

and by encouraging small ones. Leases were refused to those who could not occupy them in person, and several parts of the Company's unenclosed lands were parcelled out in farms of twenty or thirty acres each, upon condition that the lessees should, within two years, erect a house on their respective premises; and to fulfil this condition, every reasonable aid was to be afforded on the part of Government. As the sale of supplies from one of these farms was calculated for little more than the maintenance of a single family, the lease was not permitted to be divided by will in small portions; but if its value was left among several, the land could only devolve to one, who was to pay the others as legatees; nor could it be disposed of to any who held above forty acres. Persons of this description were also rendered incapable of obtaining further grants or leases from the Company, unless it was evident, from local circumstances, that the ground they petitioned for could be of little use to others, or unless it was for the express purpose of planting trees; and to this use it was proposed, in the year 1733, that the greater part of the Company's waste lands should be appropriated; but the Court of Directors objected to this proposal, unless it met with the concurrence of the inhabitants, whom

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they were averse from depriving of their right to commonage.

Although the attention to promote the fertility of the island, and enable it to answer future demands, was highly necessary and proper, yet a pretty strong proof of its then abundant state is exhibited in a petition from the planters to the Court of Directors, praying that restrictions might be laid on the Company's ships touching at the Cape of Good Hope, where they took in sufficient refreshments to render a further supply at St. Helena unnecessary. The real motives of the commanders for adopting this practice, were supposed to be commercial views of a private nature, and apprehensions that nothing could be obtained at the island in consequence of the dry season in the year 1714. But one reason assigned was, that the St. Helena water was brackish; an assertion not altogether void of foundation, as the stream in James's Valley, from which the ships at that time were supplied, became, in its progress, impregnated by several salt springs. This circumstance induced the construction of a crane and watering place at Lemon Valley. It was also determined to obtain a stream from Chub's Spring, to preserve the purity of which a channel was cut above the

aqueduct to receive the contents of the salt springs. The precautions answered for a few years, but it was at last found necessary to lay down the present pipes ; and this was accordingly done in the year 1776. To the request of the planters the Court of Directors, with that attention to the welfare of the island which has ever distinguished their conduct, not only acceded, but inserted a clause in the charter-parties of their ships, obliging the commanders to purchase three hundred pounds of fresh beef for every twenty men composing their ships' companies. But another drought, which lasted from the year 1719 to 1723, deprived the inhabitants of the advantages proposed by this regulation, and reduced them to a state of famine. A recovery from so severe a calamity was followed by a renewal of the order, but the object of communicating general satisfaction to the inhabitants was far from being accomplished. Many of them complained, that from the time the ships were prohibited from touching at the Cape, they were obliged to receive goods at extravagant rates in exchange for the productions of the island ; whereas, formerly, the commanders purchased their supplies with ready money.

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A duty of twelvepence per gallon was levied,

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during this government, on all arrack imported, and of five per cent. on other goods landed on private account ; but as the Company's stores were well supplied with almost every article in demand, the amount of customs seldom exceeded fifteen or twenty pounds per annum.

Governor Pyke has been very justly accused of arbitrary conduct in several instances, one of which appears in a reproof from the Court of Directors, for his injustice towards some soldiers, who alleged that he refused to discharge them after their contracted period of service had expired. These men, to escape his severity, left the island in an open boat, in which they reached Nevis, after performing a voyage of fourteen hundred and ninety-eight leagues. A charge against him of inattention to the comforts and wants of the slaves, is in some degree justified by his own calculation of their annual decrease. But he certainly restored the island from a most ruinous condition to as flourishing a state as could be expected, considering the difficulties he had to overcome. He formed the first safe road-way up the side of Ladder Hill. On the whole, the Court of Directors were satisfied with his administration ; he was transferred to Bencoolen, as Deputy-Governor, and was afterwards, a second time, appointed Go-

vernor of St. Helena. On the 13th of June, 1719, he was succeeded by Mr. Edward Johnson.

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It had been the custom, ever since the recapture of the island in 1673, to annex a military commission, or title, to the office of Governor. Mr. Johnson was the first exception to this rule. Another alteration also took place, about the same period, in the abolition of the office of Deputy-Governor. The emoluments of the Council, and the separate functions of each member, were as follows :—

Governor Johnson, one hundred pounds salary, one hundred pounds gratuity.

Captain Bazett, second in Council, and Store-keeper, seventy pounds salary, thirty pounds gratuity.

Mr. Byfield, third ditto, and Superintendant to the plantations, sixty-five pounds salary, thirty pounds gratuity.

Mr. Tovey, fourth ditto, and Accomptant, fifty pounds salary, thirty pounds gratuity.

Captain Alexander, fifth ditto, and Secretary, forty pounds salary, ten pounds gratuity.

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The barracks which Captain Roberts had commenced were not completed until eighteen months after Governor Johnson's arrival; they consisted of the mean looking range of buildings* which form the side of the square opposite the Castle. He also constructed the wall from the landing-place to the draw-bridge, as a barrier against the surf; finished the warehouses which now compose the store-yard, and made some additions to the defences in James's Valley. But it is proper to mention one circumstance which detracts from his merits:—The inhabitants represented to the Council the injury the public sustained by the depredations committed by absconding blacks, and petitioned for a law to permit the offenders being punished at the discretion of their proprietors. To this proposal the Governor assented; though, from his having previously filled the office of a magistrate in England, he might have been expected to have understood the principles of the British Constitution too well to combine the accuser and the judge in one person; especially as it was an order of the Company to adhere, as nearly as possible, to the spirit of the laws of England, in all cases where the St. Helena laws were silent. The Governor's acquiescence in

* These have been since removed. See page 3.

such a measure is the more extraordinary, as his humanity appears evident from a complaint sent home against him, that his mild conduct towards the blacks would be likely to occasion an insurrection.*

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Governor Johnson applied for leave to resign, and in consequence Captain John Smith was nominated to succeed him; but before this appointment took place, the death of Mr. Johnson, on the 16th of February, 1723, brought Mr. Edward Byfield, as senior member of Council, to the head of the Government. In this station he remained until the 28th of May following, when Captain Smith arrived from England.

This Governor was desirous of recommending himself as a moralist, and a reformer of manners, and was loud in his public declamations against vice and debauchery. His endeavours might probably have been followed with success, had moderation, justice, a little Christian charity, and unsuspected integrity constituted any part of his character; and it would have been well if he could have excluded all appearances

* The circumstance particularly complained of was his having called the blacks his children.

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of private pique or resentment from his zeal for the suppression of immorality. But, unfortunately, many such declaimers as Governor Smith are insensible of the beam in their own eye, whilst the mote in their brother's is very clearly discerned.

Mr. Benjamin Hawkes, who had been sent out in both a civil and military capacity (the usual mode at that time), had an intrigue with the widow of a Mr. Tovey. For this offence he was cited before the Court of Judicature; and having, in reply to some animadversions of the Governor on his conduct, used language that was deemed threatening and impertinent, he was condemned to suffer imprisonment. Under this pretext also his papers were seized; and amongst them were found several copies of letters charging the Governor with malversation. The following sentence was in consequence passed on him:—"That he be degraded, and rendered infamous, and incapable ever to serve the Honourable Company; that his sword be broke over his head, at the front of the garrison, as unworthy to wear a sword or bear a commission; that he afterwards stand in the pillory from the hour of eleven till twelve at noon; and that Margaret Tovey be placed in the pillory by him, there to conti-

“nue during the time aforesaid.” With such rigour were the aiders and abettors of lewdness punished, that the proprietor of the house in which Mr. Hawkes and Mrs. Tovey had sometimes met was placed in the stocks, near two years after the offence had been committed; but it is necessary to state, that, on a former occasion, he had been guilty of disrespect to the Governor. To do full justice to Governor Smith, it must be confessed that when personal animosity did not constitute any motive for action, his severity could relax, and his power intervene to arrest the arm of the law, even in favour of a murderer. The verdict of a coroner’s inquest declared Martin Van Oesten, the accountant, guilty of the wilful murder of his black boy; but what was the amazement of the settlement to find that the affair was hushed up by this conscientious Governor, who punished offences which, comparatively speaking, could hardly be called crimes! Van Oesten was a native of Holland, where he was supposed to have committed several murders, and, after robbing his father, fled on board a Dutch East-Indiamen. When he arrived at the Cape, on his homeward-bound voyage, fearing to re-visit his native country, he endeavoured to pass for an Englishman, and to enter as such on one of our Company’s ships. His dialect, however,

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led the Captain to suspect the imposture ; but Van Oesten attempted to remove suspicion by stating, that, from his long residence amongst the Hottentots and wild beasts, he had nearly forgotten the use of speech. Some time after he arrived, under the name of Breasy, at St. Helena, where he enlisted as a soldier, and distinguished himself by his abandoned and licentious course of life. But possessing some talents, and being tolerably versed in business, he rendered himself so useful as to be employed in a civil capacity, in which he was guilty of several frauds, and at last absconded from his creditors, to some of whom he was under the greatest obligations for pecuniary assistance at a time when he was sunk in poverty and wretchedness. The concurring testimony of several of his countrymen afforded further instances of the depravity of this monster. It appeared that he had drowned his sister, when an infant, in order to acquire her property; that he had afterwards boasted of this act, and gloried that “ there was no sort of wickedness under heaven “ that he had not committed.” He was also suspected of having poisoned his first wife. If this charge were true, he had been guilty of no less than five murders. Such was the wretch to whom the favour and protection of Governor Smith were extended.

The tyrant who had thus turned the pure stream of justice into a course of oppression, was determined that the slightest comments on the arbitrary power he had assumed should neither pass unnoticed, nor unrevenged. One of the inhabitants having declared in conversation that, according to private letters from England, a new Governor might probably be expected, the alarm of mutiny was immediately sounded, and the unfortunate news-monger exposed in the pillory. His words, however, were soon verified, for the Company gave orders for the supercession of Governor Smith by Mr. Byfield, who, on the 26th of February, 1727, a second time succeeded to the government.

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It is unfortunate for the memory of Mr. Byfield that no protest, or dissent, appears in record in opposition to the tyrannical proceedings of Governor Smith ; but, however deficient he might have been in his duty as a member of Council, his services as a Governor entitle him to a considerable share of praise.

Governor Roberts had done much towards checking the decrease of wood ; but his regulations were not subsequently strictly enforced, and the planters alleged, that were they to portion off the tenth part of their lands for protecting

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trees, it would be impossible for them to pay their rents. So that whatever young wood might have been standing, or planted, was exposed to the trespass of cattle, sheep, and goats, whilst the wood of a mature age was daily cut down for building or fuel. All the hill between Long Wood, Flagstaff, and Halley's Mount, and from thence to the Alarm-House, had, within the recollection of several persons living in the year 1718, been an entire forest. The fruitfulness also of James's Valley, and all the adjacent parts, was much diminished by the destruction of the wood. In these, as well as other situations where depredations had been committed on this invaluable article, the rain had made great ravages, as the soil was deprived of its adhesive quality by the want of that humidity which accompanies foliage and shade. Serious apprehensions were entertained that the evil might become general; and the island of Bermuda, and other parts of the world, were cited as instances to prove that countries highly fertile, when abounding with wood, were reduced to barrenness when deprived of such clothing.

The idea of fencing in Long Wood had been revived in the government of Captain Pyke, and the work was commenced by Governor Smith.

This was an infringement of the conditions on which the law had been passed for planting one acre in ten, and consequently a release from that obligation so far as regarded the *free* lands. The lease lands of course were still subject to the terms on which they were let; but whatever fines might have been levied on this account, it is believed that the records do not furnish an instance of a tenant being ejected for the non-fulfilment of the planting clause. In the year 1728, about one hundred and fifty acres of Long Wood were completely enclosed, sixty-four of which, on that part called Horse-Point, were appropriated to wood. The remainder was divided into three pastures, and was found, for nine months in the year, to be capable of maintaining the Company's whole stock of black cattle. Much attention was also bestowed on the Company's other lands. The potatoes hitherto cultivated on the island were of the red kind, and but little attended to after the prohibition of the distilleries. A crop of Irish potatoes was now planted, for the first time, in the valley called Long Gut, between Long Wood and Dead Wood. Five acres of the Plantation-House grounds were enclosed within a wall fence, and adopted as a nursery; and the red-wood, which had become nearly exterminated, was by this means preserved. Governor

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Byfield met with two young plants of it, which were moved into a proper situation, and protected till they produced sufficient seed to multiply their numbers.

The mischiefs resulting from the destruction of wood were, in some degree, counteracted by planting hedges of furze (a production probably introduced in Captain Pyke's government). The beneficial effects of this measure are felt at the present time, in the shelter afforded to the lands, and the acquisition of a stock of fuel which has probably prevented the total extirpation of the yet remaining trees. Annual surveys were ordered by Governor Byfield, to ascertain whether the tenants were attentive in planting furze, and keeping up their fences and proportion of wood, as stipulated in their leases. No defaulter escaped fine, except in very particular cases. With such perseverance was this measure followed up, that the tenants perceived that until the depredations committed by goats and sheep on the young plantations could be prevented, they must be perpetually liable to penalties. At a general meeting of the inhabitants, it was, after some deliberation, agreed, by a majority of fifty-one to eleven, that a law should be proposed to the Governor and Council, commanding the destruction of all the goats and sheep, for the

period of ten years, to commence from the 1st of February, 1731, allowing them two years for reducing their flocks. This was an idea formerly suggested by Governor Roberts; but he was probably averse from enforcing its execution in opposition to the inclinations of the planters; and the difficulties that would have attended such a measure seem to have been foreseen by Mr. Byfield, who chose rather that the act should originate in the inhabitants themselves than in the Government. At this circumstance the Court of Directors expressed much satisfaction. The law was in consequence confirmed, and was followed by the expected success. The indigenous trees shot up spontaneously in great numbers. An inhabitant who died in the year 1805, at the age of eighty-three, informed the author that many parts of the island where no trees had grown for many years before became covered with wood.

From the scanty patches of herbage on the heights contiguous to the sea, neither black cattle nor sheep, even had nature fitted them for traversing such craggy precipices, could derive much sustenance. But in those cliffs which in many parts are inaccessible to man, the goat finds excellent browsing, and thrives where other animals would perish. To obtain a good breed

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of these creatures became an object of very early attention. Orders were sent by the Company, to Bombay and Surat, to forward to St. Helena a proportion of ram and ewe goats on every homeward-bound ship, until a sufficient breeding stock was procured. But if by this it was intended to introduce a larger species, the measure would hardly appear necessary after what has been stated by the writer of Caven-
dish's Voyage. The fecundity of the goats in a very few years multiplied their number to such a degree, that they were regarded as wild animals, and hunted down by dogs and guns without restraint. This practice was interdicted in the year 1678, by proclamation; but masters of families and house-keepers were permitted, on application to the Governor and Council, to appropriate flocks to their own use, and to maintain them on the parts of the Company's waste lands now called Goat Ranges; the Company reserving to themselves James's Valley and its vicinity for their own goats.

Before the destruction of the goats had been assented to and agreed on, it was stipulated, that those persons who had enjoyed the advantages of keeping flocks on the Company's waste land, should have the limits of the respective ranges defined, and registered, and, at the ex-

piration of the ten years, the former indulgences should be restored. What was, therefore, at first considered as an indulgence, was, upon that occasion, constituted a right.* Laws were enacted which admitted and vested in certain persons, *the right of keeping goats on certain parts of the Company's waste land*. The land itself still remains in property to the Company. The value of this species of property depends on the safety or danger of the range, its extent, capability, and other local circumstances. The privilege of keeping one hundred goats in one situation will perhaps sell for one hundred pounds, whilst in another it is scarcely worth thirty pounds. The right in each range is generally possessed by two, three, or more proprietors, by whom stated days are fixed for impounding the goats; a task of difficulty and danger to any but those inured to it from childhood. A spectator, unaccustomed to the scenery and rural economy of the island, cannot but be struck with the singularity of a St. Helena goat-pounding. The eye, fearfully wandering over the abyss beneath, here and there catches a glance of the rill that murmurs at the foot of the declivity. On the opposite side a dreary

* This right has since been purchased by the Company for £1,664, and the goats extirpated.

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rugged mountain is seen to rise stupendous; here and there a small patch of herbage is discernible; but the general appearance exhibits little more than huge impending rocks, and the apertures of caverns, which afford shelter to the nimble inhabitants of these wilds. The intervention of hanging clouds, which sometimes obscure the depth of the valley from sight, leaves the uncontrolled imagination to rove in the idea of unfathomable profundity. The blacks, by whom the goats are impounded, spread themselves on the outskirts of the range, to collect the stragglers, and impel them in a direction towards the pound, by loud shouts, and rolling down stones. The echoes resounding through the valleys and cliffs, in the midst of such rude scenery, has an effect truly romantic. After the lapse of an hour, or more, detached flocks of a dozen goats, or upwards, are seen, like so many moving specks, followed by their hunters, who with cautious footsteps tread their dangerous way through ledges where a single slip would precipitate them to destruction. As they approach nearer to their place of destination, the different flocks unite into one; the goats move with a slower step, and the cries of the blacks are heard with a quicker repetition and a shorter note, until, arriving near the entrance of the pound, the goats rush in with rapidity, and as

many of them are taken as are required for use. Each proprietor has his respective mark cut in the animals' ears; and during the process of following the flocks, the blacks, by observing those kids that keep with their masters' ewes, are enabled to put on them their proper mark when impounded. Mistakes in this instance are rarely known to occur. It often happens that in driving the goats a few will break away, and effect their escape; but they are sometimes re-taken and secured by the celerity of their pursuers, who run among the ledges, and spring from rock to rock, on the brink of precipices that would justify a description such as Shakespeare has given of Dover Cliff. As many of the planters are as active and expert as the blacks in this exercise, they are well calculated for the service of riflemen, a corps in which they are embodied. A range, called the Devil's Hole, on the S.W. side of the island, is so very steep and dangerous, that the proprietors seldom procure a goat from it without the aid of a fowling-piece. The following anecdotes are not inapplicable to the present subject, and will serve still further to point out the nature of the country.—About the year 1718, two of the Company's slaves, who preferred a free-booting life to that of labour and subjection to their overseers, made choice of a cave about half way up

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a steep acclivity, which terminates in a spiral rock called Lot, in Sandy Bay. From this strong hold their nocturnal sallies and depredations were carried on with success for several weeks; and even after their retreat was discovered, they stood a siege of three or four days, and repelled all attacks by rolling down stones on the assailants; until at last it was deemed requisite to send a party of soldiers to fire on them if they refused to surrender in twenty-four hours. The agility, however, of a young man, named Worrall, and two or three others, rendered this measure unnecessary. They went to the opposite side of the mountain, and clambered up until they gained a situation above the cave, the mouth of which became thus exposed to the same mode of attack which had so effectually operated for its defence. When the freebooters approached the edge of the precipice to roll down stones, Worrall's discharge from above maimed one of them so much that the poor wretch died, and the other was much bruised. The recollection of this incident ought to give confidence to any party, however trifling in numbers, that may be posted for the defence of the difficult and dangerous passes which, in most parts of the island, form the only access into the interior.

In the year 1734, a sailor, on his return from the country, wandered among the cliffs at Ladder Hill, which overhang the sea, and found himself at last in a place where he could neither turn, nor sit down, nor discover any method of escape. In this perilous situation he remained until the following morning, when perceiving a party going to swim, he threw his shoes down to attract notice. He succeeded, and was soon relieved by the natives, who ventured within a few fathoms of him, and lowered down a rope, to which he fastened himself, and was hauled up.

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To carry forward the defences, public buildings, plantations, and other works, which had long been in process, required more labour than the Company could supply either from the garrison or their own blacks. Recourse was, therefore, had to the slaves of individuals, the hire of whom afforded the chief maintenance of many families. On the succession of Mr. Byfield to the government, it was thought that this additional labour might be dispensed with, and the blacks thus employed were therefore discharged by orders from home. The consequence of a measure which thus deprived numbers of a considerable income, was a petition from the inhabitants to the Company, praying relief from the penury and distress to which they had been

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reduced. The Court of Directors, in reply, humanely ordered that half the rents, and the tax of ten shillings for each slave, should be remitted for five years. This indulgence was afterwards continued for five years longer (to alleviate the calamities occasioned by a dry season), it was subsequently prolonged to the year 1745, and the tax upon slaves has not since been exacted. The expences of the island were reduced five thousand pounds in the first year of Mr. Byfield's government. But as the discharge of the blacks from the Company's works cannot be supposed to have been the sole cause of so great a reduction, much credit may fairly be ascribed to the general good management of the Governor. His care and assiduity were indeed very conspicuous, particularly in the recovery of several bad debts, contracted by a practice that had long been tolerated, of giving credit without restraint for necessaries required by individuals from the Company's stores. When a person in indigent circumstances desired to make a purchase from one more wealthy, payment was often made by the poor man's becoming responsible for a part, or the whole, of the rich man's debt to the stores; so that by these kinds of transfers it was found that the Company became the creditors of such only as had scarcely the means of payment. This nefarious traffic

was interdicted, in the year 1721, with an exception in favour of those who were in the Company's employment and pay.

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During the four years in which Mr. Byfield filled the chair, his savings for the Company were calculated at twenty-five thousand five hundred and sixty-five pounds. Their sense of his merits was manifested by an addition of one hundred pounds to his salary, one hundred pounds worth of plate, and four hundred pounds in cash. The inhabitants also, about five months after their liberation from the galling yoke of Captain Smith's tyranny, testified their acknowledgments in an address to Mr. Byfield for his equitable administration; and in the following year again took occasion to express their high sense of his just and indulgent disposition. But when the recollection of former sufferings and oppression had worn off, present blessings were undervalued, and discontents fomented against the man who, by general confession, had every claim to esteem and affection. This animosity appears in part to have originated from the Governor's attempting to support the cause of the poorer class of planters against the views of a few opulent land-holders, who desired to sell their beef to the ships at a rate below the established price. Many might also have been dis-

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appointed at his not sacrificing the Company's interest to obtain popularity ; but, at all events, his enemies were determined, if possible, to procure his dismissal. A powerful party was formed against him, and a deputation of two of its members sent home to lay their pretended grievances before the Court of Directors. Among a variety of complaints brought forward on that occasion, it was alleged, that the farmers were debarred the privilege of selling beef to the ships ; and that they were prevented going on board for disposing and bartering their commodities, although this was a right that had been granted to them by the Company. It was also affirmed, that they could not procure necessaries from the stores, but on condition of their purchasing articles, the property of some of the Council ; that the Government sanctioned most exorbitant charges from the surgeon ; and that the Governor derived a clandestine profit of one thousand pounds per annum. It only required investigation to affix on these calumniators the obloquy they deserved. As an instance of the little regard they paid to truth, it appeared that half-a-crown was the total amount of what the surgeon had received from the inhabitants during his residence on the island. But can such an extraordinary instance of turpitude excite surprise, when the deplorable dis-

advantages under which the inhabitants laboured are for a moment taken into consideration. Many, if not the greater part, of the original settlers were of inferior rank; their offspring had no other religious or moral instruction than that which could be obtained within the circumscribed society of the island. Their spiritual teachers, far from inculcating sobriety, submission to the laws, mercy, charity, and other Christian virtues, were foremost in scenes of debauchery and infamy; and when it is considered that rebellion, revenge, hatred, and duplicity, blackened the character of the St. Helena chaplains for more than sixty years, might it not have been expected that both religion should be put out of countenance, and morality out of practice?

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Governor Byfield, indignant at the injurious and ungrateful treatment he had received, retired from his situation in disgust; but whilst his enemies succeeded in driving him from the island, they were little aware of the punishment they had been preparing for themselves. Captain Pyke was a second time sent out as Governor, and arrived in March, 1731; but Mr. Byfield, by the Company's orders, kept the chair until the last moment of his departure, which happened in a few days. During this second

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administration of Governor Pyke, he fully justified the charge of arbitrary conduct, of which he was accused. The white inhabitants were ignominiously whipped and imprisoned for trivial offences. The military officers fined and suspended without courts-martial. Though he severely punished several acts of wanton barbarity committed by the proprietors of slaves, yet some instances of horrid cruelty were unnoticed ; and he gave full scope to his own tyranny, a detail of which would be improper and indelicate. One occurrence, however, cannot be passed over in silence.—A free black woman had a child by a soldier, for which offence, if such it could be called in an uninstructed, ignorant creature, hardly sensible that any moral guilt was attached to the act, she and her child were both consigned to slavery, under pretence that such was the law in some of his Majesty's plantations, This doctrine was worthy of the man who applied it ; but, as it was somewhat unprecedented to regulate the judicial proceedings of one country by the laws of another, and as Governor Pyke might, with equal propriety, use the torture to extort confession, because it was the law in some parts of Europe, he was judged unfit to be any longer trusted with the power he had so grossly abused. A number of similar acts induced the Court of Directors to

dismiss him ; but prior to the receipt of their orders to this effect, his decease, which happened in July, 1738, had placed Mr. Goodwin, the senior member of Council, and a native of the island, at the head of the Government ; and in this station he was confirmed. The person next in rank at the Board was Mr. Duke Crispe, a man not deficient in talents, and possessed of no common share of knavery and cunning. He had formerly been in the situation of Governor's steward, from which he had been raised to a civil appointment, in the year 1726, and was afterwards promoted to a seat in Council. He never hesitated to concur in whatever censure was thrown on the conduct of his former masters and benefactors ; he was concerned in trade with Governor Goodwin, had entire influence over him, of which he took a base advantage, and was, in fact, the grand spring which regulated all the measures of Council. The Company's lands were disposed of for a tenth part of their value, the stores embezzled, the most infamous frauds committed by erasure and false entries, and the treasury robbed of nearly four thousand pounds. In the year 1739 he succeeded as provisional Governor in consequence of Mr Goodwin's death, when all blame was thrown upon the dead man ; but Crispe had incautiously omitted to allow a due share of the plunder to G. G. Powel, one of

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his colleagues in Council, a man still more artful than himself, and equally devoid of principle. Powel turned informer, and had the address to conceal his real character. From the nature of the intelligence he secretly transmitted, it was judged proper that a person of integrity should be immediately sent out, with extraordinary powers, to investigate the charges, and even, if necessary, to supersede the Governor and Council. The man selected for this service was Mr Robert Jenkins, who had commanded a Scotch merchant ship, at the period when so many British subjects had suffered the most cruel indignities from the Spaniards, in consequence of the disputed right of cutting logwood in the bay of Campeachy. His ship was boarded by a Spanish *guarda costa*, on pretence of searching for contraband goods; Captain Jenkins was insulted, tortured, and had one of his ears torn off, which, upon his arrival in England, he exhibited at the bar of the House of Commons, and, being asked by a member what he thought and did when they mangled him, made that memorable reply, "I committed my soul to God, and my cause to my country." The indignation excited at this circumstance seems to have hastened the war that soon after took place with Spain. He was afterwards commander of a ship in the Company's service,

and continued in that situation till he was appointed Supervisor of all the Company's affairs at St. Helena. Under this title he embarked for the island, where he arrived in May, 1740, and, pursuant to his instructions, landed in the first boat, and immediately proceeded to the Castle, accompanied by Mr. John Godfrey, his assistant. Upon his announcing that he had charge of dispatches, a Council was instantly assembled. He then opened his commission, summoned the chief Supercargoes, and Captains of the Company's ships then at the island, and in their presence demanded the keys of the treasury. The cash found, and counted on the spot, amounted to only six pounds sterling. Mr. Duke Crispe, the acting Governor, and the rest of the Council (with the exception of Mr. Powel), were declared to be no longer in the Company's service, and Mr. Jenkins assumed the government, and, in terms of the Company's instructions, formed a Council, consisting of two Supercargoes, in conjunction with Mr. Godfrey and Mr. Powel. A thorough investigation was instituted, and most ample proof adduced in support of the accusations made by Mr. Powel, who was in consequence made second in Council; and the estates of the guilty were seized to the extent of the Company's losses, which were calculated at six thousand two hundred and eighty-four pounds.

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The Governor having executed his commission, Major Lambert arrived, as his successor, on the 22d of March, 1741, in the Ship Harrington, of which Captain Jenkins was directed to assume the command for the remainder of the voyage. In his station as a commander, his conduct became still further distinguished by a gallant action against a pirate, in which he preserved his own ship, and three others under his orders.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE YEAR 1741 TO THE YEAR 1788.

Death of Governor Lambert, and succession of Mr. Powel—A detection of Mr. Powel's frauds and misdemeanors—Is superseded by Governor Dunbar—Experiments in the cultivation of corn—Dissensions among the Council—Mr. Hutchinson appointed Governor—Unsuccessful attempt of a French squadron to capture the Company's ships as they approached St. Helena—Increase of the establishment—Exercise of martial law authorized by Act of Parliament—Introduction of the British laws—Prices of provisions, and necessaries from the Company's stores, reduced—Acquisition of oaks, and other vegetable productions—Mortality among the cattle—Doctor Maskelyne and Mr. Waddington sent out to observe the transit of Venus—Governor Hutchinson succeeded by Mr. Skottow—Long Wood fenced in—Mr. Corneille appointed Governor—A mutiny in the garrison.

MAJOR LAMBERT'S government was terminated in about four months, by his death; but he had the merit of establishing the first regular hospital, which was upon the site of the building now appropriated to that purpose. He was

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succeeded by George Gabriel Powel, senior member of Council, who, in a government of scarcely two years, completely developed his real character, and evinced that want of opportunity alone had prevented his being concerned in the frauds of which he had given information on a former occasion. His disgrace and dismissal were the result of a conduct similar to that by which he had accomplished the supersession of Governor Crispe. On the 11th of March, 1743, Colonel Dunbar arrived, as Governor, with orders to inquire into his proceedings; and the investigation fully established the truth of the charges that had been privately transmitted against him. It was found that goods had been sold upon his account, which his own steward declared were the property of the Company. He had also obtained a lease for land, the letting of which to another tenant he had formerly opposed as extremely improper; and actually took possession of a goat-range belonging to the Company. Their farms had been appropriated to his own use, and their timber, lime, perbec-stone, and other materials, applied in constructing a commodious dwelling-house on his estate in the country. In this undertaking their artificers and labourers were also employed, and their pay was charged in the account of fortifications, or other public

works. The Company's blacks, after finishing their daily tasks, instead of being suffered to enjoy their necessary rest, were compelled to carry heavy loads from Sandy Bay and James's Valley, to forward the Governor's buildings; and if they did not return to their work before daylight the following morning, they were severely whipped. In consequence of this barbarous treatment, they seldom slept in a house, but lay upon the roads all night. The abilities of Mr. Powel were far from contemptible; but the talents with which nature had endowed him were all perverted by the depravity of his heart. An anecdote is related of him which displays an instance of cunning not unworthy of a member of the Inquisition. Two slaves (brothers) were brought prisoners before him; one for having absconded, the other for having supplied him with provisions during his absence. Against the first there was sufficient proof, but against the second none; as the former endured his punishment, denying that his brother had rendered him assistance, and the latter refused to confess the fact. The Governor, on this occasion, said to the Council, "Gentlemen, this villain should be flogged severely. A wretch who would not give his poor brother a morsel when starving, deserves to be hanged." This declaration induced the intimidated creature to

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acknowledge the charge, and the acknowledgment was immediately followed by an inhuman chastisement.

Incidents comparatively trivial, may sometimes throw as much light on characters as the most important facts ; and a degree of levity, as well as cruelty, is apparent in Mr. Powel's disposition, from his treatment of a poor man whom he had employed to make a wig for him, with the materials of which he was displeased, and in consequence ordered the unfortunate wig-maker into his own room, where he was placed on the back of a soldier, and whipped like a school-boy with fifty lashes.

Mr. Powel refused to make any defence to the various charges exhibited against him, and when required to settle his accounts with the Company, instead of complying, demanded a general receipt, and permission to go to England. But this was refused until the Company's claims were satisfied, or until he should give security to their full amount. To the latter proposition he assented ; and was allowed to go to England. From thence he proceeded to America, and was conspicuous as a patriot at Carolina, and, it is said, even became a member of Congress.

Governor Dunbar was unwearied in his exertions to watch over the resources and fertility of the island. Experiments in the cultivation of oats, barley, and wheat, at Long Wood, gave rise to such hopes of success, that a barn was erected there; but on a failure of subsequent crops, it was converted into a residence for the Lieutenant-Governor. This disappointment is supposed to have arisen either from drought, or some other cause, and not, as has sometimes been asserted, from the depredations of rats: though it must be admitted that the ravages of these vermin are often attended with the most injurious consequences. In 1756 they barked the trees at Long Wood for food, and an incident occurred, in the year 1700, the authenticity of which might be doubted if it rested upon less respectable authority than the records. The rats are stated to have then attacked and devoured their own species; and the island was consequently nearly cleared of these animals. Among other improvements of Governor Dunbar is to be included the planting of the avenue of peepel trees, in the middle of the valley leading to the hospital, by which it is so much ornamented and shaded. His extreme violence of temper, however, and his arbitrary disposition, involved him in repeated disputes with the Council. He highly resented the least

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opposition to his measures ; took upon himself to mulct some of the members, sometimes of a month's and sometimes a quarter's salary, and suspended them at pleasure. During the course of these illegalities, Mr. Hutchinson, the Lieutenant-Governor, in whose person that office was revived, evinced a degree of temper, moderation, and propriety of conduct, highly to his credit. He was accordingly judged a more proper person to be intrusted with the government than Colonel Dunbar, who was directed, in a letter dated the 23d of December, 1746, to resign his charge to Mr. Hutchinson, or, in the event of his death or absence, to the senior military officer and secretary for the time being. These gentlemen were in such case appointed joint Commissioners for executing the functions of government ; and, by a postscript to the same letter, they were ordered to compose the Council, to the exclusion of the other members, who had previously held seats at the Board ; but one or two of these members were afterwards reinstated, though not till some time had elapsed.

About this period a plan was formed by the French Government for intercepting the East-India ships, by stationing cruisers in their track to the windward of St. Helena. L'Achille, of sixty-four guns, La Syrenne, of thirty-two, and

La Zephyre, of thirty, were fitted out from Brest, and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, in January, 1759. After there taking in a supply of stores and necessary refreshments, they proceeded to their station, which they reached early in March; and, in order to prevent the communication of any intelligence respecting them, obliged the commander of every neutral ship with which they spoke to enter into an engagement not to touch at the island: but they had not remained three days to windward before they were distinctly seen from the look-out posts, and during their cruise, which continued nearly three months, frequently approached within eight or nine leagues of the land. Upon their being first descried, a long boat was equipped, and placed under the command of Mr. Bendy, a midshipman of one of the Company's ships, who was instructed to get to windward of the French, for the purpose of informing the expected Indiamen of their danger. He was successful in gaining his station unperceived by the enemy; but shortly after observing them to leeward, he mistook them for English ships, bore down, and did not discover his error till it was too late. His capture was, of course, the consequence of this mistake. In the beginning of May, four of the Company's ships fell in with the cruisers, with whom three ships maintained

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an obstinate running fight for some time, but finding they could not get in without a great risk of being taken, they stood away for South America. A few days after, the French gave chase to two more of our Indiamen, who pursued the same course as the other four, and the six ships reached in safety the Bay of All Saints. They were soon followed, and blocked up by the enemy, who had quitted their station for want of water. In this extremity a long-boat was decked, and properly fitted out to carry advices home of the situation in which the Company's ships were placed. The boat passed through the French men of war in the night, and was picked up, in great distress, by a New York sloop, one hundred and thirty leagues to the westward of Cape Clear. In the mean time the cruisers abandoned their blockade, and allowed our ships to proceed unmolested on their voyage. Thus ended an enterprize, the failure of which seems to have discouraged the repetition of any systematic attempt of the same kind; for we cannot regard as such the casual cruise, for a day or two, of a single frigate or privateer, on their voyage towards Europe. The only British vessels known to be captured off the island by such cruisers were the Rebecca schooner, in the year 1782, and a whaler, in the year 1805.

As the trade and prosperity of the East-India Company increased, so the importance of St. Helena became more manifest, its security became an object of greater attention, and the respectability of the civil and military establishments gradually augmented. The two services were rendered more distinct and separate : in the civil department, a regular rule for promotion, and gradations of rank, was fixed;* and, from the year 1759, one or more seats at the board have invariably been filled by senior civil servants. In fact, all members of Council, as such, are upon the *civil* not the *military* establishment; and, in support of this assertion, a number of instances might be adduced; but the following extract from the official correspondence will suffice:—"Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, according to our orders, being admitted into the civil service, as a member of Council, covenants for him, as such, are transmitted for his execution"† The same rule applies to the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, whose offices are *civil*, and entirely independent of whatever military commissions

* General Letter from England, dated the 7th January, 1742-3.

† General Letter from England dated the 17th December, 1762, par. 59.

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they may hold. It would be needless to digress upon a point so well established, if a contrary opinion had not of late been maintained ; and if a custom allowed for eight or nine years, by which the senior military officer in James's Valley was regarded as the Governor's representative, in all respects, during his absence from the seat of government, had not gradually usurped the authority of a law. Some circumstances, however, having occurred that brought the subject under discussion, a reference was made to the Court of Directors. The decision of that Court fixed the system as it had previously stood ; and, at present, the senior member of Council in town in the Governor's absence, is considered as his representative, in all respects, except the command of the military.

The garrison had formerly more the appearance of a militia, than of a regular military establishment. A number of the non-commissioned officers and privates occupied farms, which in a great measure engrossed their attention. Shortly after the re-appointment of Captain Pyke to the government, an increase of numbers appears to have occasioned the formation of a second company of infantry ; and, in 1743, the garrison was augmented to four companies, besides the artillery. In consequence of the discharge of those

who preferred the life of a planter to that of a soldier, military duties were conducted more conformably to the rules of discipline. The companies were commanded by officers of no higher rank than Lieutenants, until sixteen years after, when a Captain was appointed to each ; but at St. Helena, as well as in other settlements belonging to the Company, it was impossible to maintain proper discipline without martial law ; the exercise of which, though permitted by a former charter, had not been enforced at St. Helena since the time of Captain Roberts's government. Indeed, from the tenour of the charter, it would appear that military courts were admissible only in case of actual attack, or of open rebellion. The propriety, therefore, of constantly governing the garrison by martial law, particularly in time of peace, was doubted ; and an Act of Parliament was passed, in the twenty-seventh of George the Second, for punishing mutiny, desertion, and other military crimes, in a manner similar to that practised in his Majesty's armies. By this act the Court of Directors, through the medium of the Crown, is empowered to authorize the Governor and Council to appoint courts martial, and also to extend the same authority to the commanding officer of any detached party.

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Besides the penalties to which officers on the St. Helena establishment are liable by the decision of a military court, they are subject to dismissal by the Governor and Council, without a court martial ;* and, by the Act of Parliament of the thirteenth of George the Third, for regulat-

* Extract from the Court of Directors' letter, dated the 19th of January, 1769 :—

“ That they (the officers) are not only to obey their superior officers, according to the rules and discipline of war, but are to be entirely subject to the orders of the Governor and Council, who are the Company's legal representatives ; as likewise to such orders they may receive from any of the Company's civil servants to whom the Governor and Council shall think fit to delegate such authority.

“ That as they are entirely subject to the authority of the Company's civil representatives, so the Governor and Council, upon the misbehaviour of any officer, may, whenever they think fit, take away such officers' commissions, without bringing him before a court martial, according to the general practice of the service.

“ The intent of sending you the foregoing is not merely with respect to the officers now appointed, but also to remind you of the power you have always had, and it is necessary should be kept up, in order to preserve that authority over the military which is essentially necessary for the good of the service.”

ing the affairs of the East-India Company, the sentence of dismission against any servant, civil or military, pronounced by the Governor and Council, can be revoked in no other manner than by a majority of three-fourths of the Directors, and the like majority of a special Court of Proprietors. The Directors, in consequence, with that lenity so manifest in all their proceedings, have ordered, that *suspension from the service, until the Court of Directors' pleasure be known*, shall be the sentence of the Governor and Council, instead of *dismission*, unless the latter may be “really necessary, or unless cashiered by a court martial;” and the Act of the twenty-seventh of George the Second renders the Governor and Council amenable to the Court of King’s Bench for any oppressive abuse of their authority.

The partial spirit of the early laws of St. Helena, in which such distinction of colour was observed, that a black was consigned to death for the same crime for which a white was only slightly punished, was too disgraceful in a British settlement to admit of its continuance; and it is surprising that an error so enormous had prevailed for so long a period. A power vested in the Governor of trying causes, either by jury or before Council, according to his discretion, was

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sometimes abused, in violation of the Company's orders against depriving any persons of lands without the verdict of a jury. Unwarrantable fines were also, in many cases, imposed; and policy, justice, and humanity, called aloud for a reform, which was hastened by the daring felonies, burglaries, and other serious crimes committed by both whites and blacks with impunity, for want of the powers to apply adequate punishments. Repeated representations on this subject, by Governor Hutchinson, induced the Court of Directors to take it into their serious consideration. On consulting the most eminent law authorities, they were "satisfied that they had "a right by themselves, their ministers and officers, to govern the island of St. Helena, and "to hold courts of justice therein for trying all "kinds of crimes, offences, and misdemeanors, "and also for determining all civil actions." And, as the Governor and Council had hitherto acted as judges and magistrates, it was thought right that they should still continue to do so, without any further authority than what had been customary; and they were in consequence declared Judges of the Courts of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery; which, upon this occasion, in the year 1762, were established, and have continued to the present period. The offices of Sheriff and Constable were at the

same time instituted ; but the Court of Directors disapproved of the proposal that a professional gentleman of the law should be sent out as Clerk of the Peace, enjoining the Governor and Council to discourage litigation as much as lay in their power. This wise admonition has been attended with the happiest effects ; for, in general, no people are more averse to law-suits than the natives of St. Helena. The grand jury is usually composed of gentlemen in the civil and military service, and the principal land freeholders. The petit jury generally consists of free and lease-holders of an inferior class, and any Englishman at the island is liable to be impannelled as a juror. In fact, all judicial proceedings are now conducted very nearly in the same manner as in the English courts. The convictions, punishments, and determinations, are required to be conformable to the known laws and statutes of the British realm, or as nearly so as the nature and circumstances of the cases will admit. This rule, however, does not affect local laws, either criminal or civil, that had been, or might be, established, provided they were not repugnant to the spirit of the laws of England. Those crimes for which the British code condemns the offender to transportation, are punished at St. Helena either by burning the hand, or by whipping. Until the year 1787,

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the evidence of blacks, although deemed competent against persons of their own colour, was not admissible against whites. The consequence of so partial a system will appear by the following instances.—In the year 1785, Elizabeth Renton, a white inhabitant, in a fit of passion, stabbed one of her female slaves with a carving-knife; the slave died in a few moments. The verdict of the coroner's inquest upon this occasion was wilful murder against Elizabeth Renton; and the grand jury, at the following quarter sessions, presented a bill of indictment to the same effect. Had her skin been as black as her heart, she would undoubtedly have suffered the penalty of the law; but as the only witness that could have sworn to the fact was a person of colour, who was not examined at the trial, because the evidence of blacks against whites was inadmissible, she escaped. In the following year, a planter, named Worrall, and his slave-man (*Yon*), were detected in the act of sheep-stealing: as the proofs against him rested upon the testimony of blacks, the white man could not be brought to trial, but the slave was convicted and sentenced to *death*, notwithstanding he had acted under the coercion of his master. To have followed such a sentence with execution, would have been too flagrant an outrage against equity; but, as the authority for

pardoning criminals is not expressed in the Company's charter, that power is one of the prerogatives of the Crown at St. Helena, as well as in England; Yon was therefore reprieved, and recommended to his Majesty's royal mercy, who was graciously pleased to extend it by sending out a free pardon.

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The Court of Directors, anxious to prevent a continuance of such barbarous absurdities, submitted the subject to the consideration of the most eminent law authorities; and, in consequence of Recorder Adair's opinion on the case, the evidence of blacks against whites is now admissible in the same degree as against those of their own colour.*

Whether any degree of Admiralty jurisdiction be vested in the Governor and Council, is a point not positively ascertained. During the government of Mr. Skottowe, five Dutch prizes were taken, off the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1781, by the British squadron under

* “ *In the same degree,*” but their evidence cannot be *universally* admitted, either against whites or those of their own colour. Much of this must rest with the discretion of the magistracy and the jury; as it may happen that individuals of this class are not sufficiently informed in religious obligations to understand the nature of an oath.

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Commodore George Johnson, who brought them into St. Helena, and made application to the Governor for a Court of Admiralty to be appointed for the condemnation of the prizes. To obviate every objection or doubt which might possibly arise against a compliance with the request, he engaged, on behalf of the captors, that, in whatever sentence the Court might pronounce, a clause should be inserted, “ saving
“ the rights of all persons upon the nett pro-
“ duce, who might have any claim or claims
“ upon the said captures, and should lodge the
“ same claim or claims within three months
“ from the registration of the sentence before
“ the Court of Appeals in prize causes, esta-
“ blished in London.”

The Governor having consulted the Council, and the charter being carefully examined, it was the opinion of the Board that there was no legal impediment to an acquiescence with the Commodore's application. The Lieutenant-Governor and two of the civil servants were, by virtue of a formal instrument from the Board, constituted Judges of the Admiralty Court on this occasion, and the prizes were condemned. To the official report transmitted on this subject no answer was returned; but it is understood that the cause underwent a second adjudication in

England, where the sentence of condemnation was repealed.

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How far the powers of the Council may extend in ecclesiastical cases, still remains a question. In some instances, certainly, they have ever been accustomed to exercise part of the functions of that court, such as proving wills, and appointing administrators to the estates of persons dying intestate. But a case being presented for their decision, which had for its object the separation of a wife from bed and board, there was some degree of hesitation, from apprehensions of want of authority. The mutual consent, indeed, of the parties precluded the necessity of further deliberation on the question. It may be remarked, however, that, prior to the erection of the Courts of Oyer and Terminer, the Governor and Council were expressly stated to be fully competent to administer justice within the island “in all causes and “matters whatsoever” betwixt party and party, except life, limb, or land (which required the assistance of a jury), and that the introduction of the forms used in the British courts was accompanied with a proviso that the local laws and customs of the island were not thereby to be superseded, unless they were contrary to the spirit of the laws of England. It appears,

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therefore, reasonable to conclude, that had the Council, in the case alluded to, after impartially weighing the evidences on both sides, pronounced a decree of separation from bed and board, in order to save a family from ruin, their sentence would have been approved by the law authorities in England.

Among the reforms and improvements already noticed in the present chapter, it is proper to mention the increased degree of comfort and respectability attached to the Company's servants upon the island by an augmentation to their incomes. Governor Lambert was sent out with a salary of five hundred pounds per annum, and a proportionate addition was annexed to offices of inferior importance. Although, since Governor Poirier's appointment, persons below the rank of gentlemen had been excluded from the general table, yet the right enjoyed by all civil covenanted servants and military officers of constantly dining at the same table with the Governor, could not but be subversive of that respect so necessary to be preserved towards the person who presided over the settlement and all its official departments. In the year 1743, the general table was abolished, and, in its stead, an allowance, under the title of diet-money, was granted to those who had

enjoyed the privilege of frequenting it. Two years previous to this change, regulations were adopted in the store-department, by which bread and flour were sold to the military at prime cost; clothing, and all other stores, at ten per cent; and to the inhabitants at forty per cent.

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Governor Dunbar, in the year 1745, reduced the price of the salt provisions to two shillings per piece to the soldiers; this price was confirmed; and, in the year 1758, a similar reduction was made in favour of the officers and civil servants. Since this regulation, the price of salt provisions has been fixed at fourpence per pound to all classes of persons on the island,* except to non-commissioned officers and privates, who still receive it at the former rate. The privilege of purchasing all other articles in the stores at no greater advance than ten per cent. was extended, in the year 1772, to the planters and other persons not in the Company's service.

During the government of Mr. Hutchinson, the island was enriched with several valuable vegetable productions, highly conducive to or-

* This custom is now discontinued.

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nement and to utility. About the year 1749, the Scotch and spruce fir were introduced, and some acorns sent out, from which trees have been produced that now measure from eight to eleven feet in circumference. But in the animal, as well as the vegetable kingdom, longevity has been found to accompany tediousness of growth; and the rapidity with which the oaks of St. Helena have shot up, occasioned, in some of them, a very early decay.* But it is only in the most sheltered spots of the island that the oak attains perfection; in exposed situations, the trade-wind blowing continually in the same direction, produces very baneful effects upon this, as upon most other trees not indigenous to the soil. Those which receive least injury from this cause are the cypress and the pinaster.† A number of attempts to introduce the coffee-plant had failed; but Governor Hutchinson at

* This peculiarity in the growth of the oak induced Governor Patton to have several of them felled at the Government residence in the country; and the timber, on being worked up, has been found of a closer grain, and much harder, than the English oak: a quality rather singular in trees of quick growth.

† Of the former few now remain; but the successful endeavours of two Governors (Brooke and Patton) to propagate the latter, are likely to prove of much benefit to the island.

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last succeeded in this object, though he met with several disappointments, occasioned by severe drought, a calamity with which the island was observed to be afflicted once in every seven or eight years. Its distressing consequences were increased in the years 1760, 1761, and 1762, by dreadful sickness among the cattle. The disorder is thus described in the *official correspondence* :—“ The cattle were first taken with
“ a trembling, lost the use of their limbs, and
“ the bowels contracted in a surprising manner;
“ some of them have a swelling in their breasts;
“ others, upon opening the intestines, are found
“ quite decayed; all of them, after they are
“ seized with this disorder, have a contraction
“ in the bowels, and appear to be quite mad.” Various opinions were entertained as to the cause of the distemper. Some supposed it to arise from the multitudes of insects propagated in the dry grass; while others imagined it proceeded from eating an herb called the canary-grass; but the latter opinion was proved to be erroneous. Every remedy that could be suggested on the island, as well as in England, proved unequal to stop the progress of this disorder, which did not abate till it had nearly destroyed all the cattle.

Whilst the little island, its politics, and domestic concerns, occupied the paternal attention

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of its proprietors, its situation attracted the notice of astronomers, as suited, in a particular instance, to promote science and nautical information. It was calculated, that upon the 6th of June, 1761, the planet Venus would pass over the sun's disk; and, in consequence of an application from the Royal Society to his Majesty, measures were adopted for observing the transit from the Pacific Ocean by Captain Cook, from Sumatra by Messrs. Mason and Dixon, and from St. Helena by Doctor Maskelyne and Mr. Waddington. The two last of these gentlemen having arrived at the island at the close of the preceding year, an observatory was constructed for their use upon a chosen eminence,* and every suitable accommodation afforded them, by orders from the Company; but upon the long-expected day, a passing cloud obscured the phenomenon from their sight, whilst it was distinctly seen by several persons in James's Valley.

During the eighteen years in which Mr. Hutchinson held the government, he fulfilled the trust reposed in him with such fidelity and discretion that the Court of Directors gave him notice of their intention to settle an annuity upon

* The ridge behind the Alarm-House.

him of three hundred pounds a year, whenever he thought proper to leave the island. At the same time they desired that such intimation might not be construed into a supposition that they wished him to resign : but this worthy man being then in the decline of life, and anxious to visit his native country, accepted with much gratitude the offered terms, and, on the 10th of March, 1764, delivered over the government to Mr. Skottowe, the Lieutenant-Governor.*

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Although the destruction of the goats for ten years had conduced very much to effect the desired object, yet such was the annual decrease of wood upon the island that it once more became a subject of apprehension and alarm. The trees in Long Wood, in the year 1777, were supposed to be more in number than the rest of the island together contained ; but, with the exception of those within Governor Byfield's enclosures, there was no likelihood of a succession to re-

*At this period the Council was composed of the following gentlemen :

John Skottowe, Esq., Governor.

Matthew Purling, Esq.

Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick.

And on the 6th of May, 1769, Daniel Corneille, Esq. arrived as Lieutenant-Governor.

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place the trees that were cut down or decayed, as the young plants were continually nipped off by cattle, sheep, and goats. The subject appeared of such importance to Governor Skottowe and his Council, that they urgently recommended a substantial fence to be completed round the whole tract of land now called Long Wood, consisting of eight hundred acres, and they expressed hopes that an acquiescence to their proposal would, within a period of twenty years, prove the means of affording sufficient supplies of fuel even for the ships. They likewise urged the propriety of conveying water to that neighbourhood in leaden pipes, which would considerably enhance the value of a very large extent of pasture land, called Dead Wood. The estimated expense* of the latter proposal appeared to the Court of Directors to exceed its probable advantages; but they acquiesced in the measure of fencing in the Long Wood, and transmitted positive injunctions that the whole of the enclosure should be planted with trees of the quickest growth. In this view a number of plants of the Lombardy poplar were sent out; but as these failed, and as the gum-wood seemed to thrive best in that situation, all the vacant spots were afterwards filled with seedlings

* Five hundred and eighteen pounds.

of those trees. The fencing and planting of Long Wood cost the Company upwards of eight thousand pounds, without ever returning a foot of timber fit for plank, scantling, a boat's mast, or a farm-gate, and without even saving them the expense of eighty pounds a-year to the garrison baker for the purchase of fire-wood from other quarters. Thus, upon a small island, where every rood of arable land is of peculiar value, about 600 choice acres, sufficiently level for the plough, were appropriated to the raising of *fuel*; a purpose for which many other far less valuable spots would have assuredly answered, as has been fully proved by subsequent experience.

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Governor Skottowe filled the chair eighteen years, to the satisfaction of his employers. During this period, the leaden pipes that now convey the water from Chub's Spring to the Wharf* were laid down; the church in James's Town, and the officers' barracks, were also erected. On the 25th of July, 1782, he resigned the government to Mr. Corneille, and shortly after proceeded to England.

Towards the close of the year 1783, the tran-

* This distance is 2790 yards.

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quillity of the island was disagreeably interrupted by a mutiny of the troops. Nothing was more foreign from the apprehension of the inhabitants than an insurrection of this nature; it was an event that had not recently been experienced, and they had long been accustomed to peace and security. An idea had been adopted of putting the garrison under a mode of regimen, in regard to the use of spirits, analogous to the practice at Gibraltar. In consequence of this, the punch-houses (where they had apartments to meet in over their beverage, and could sing their song, and tell their story) were discontinued, and one house of rendezvous substituted for them, under the denomination of a canteen. Here there was no place for them to sit down, and each man was obliged to drink his allotted quantity at certain hours, and depart immediately; and this humiliation they alleged they were compelled to submit to, while the blacks were allowed to regale themselves in the public-houses without restriction. They took offence, too, at some supposed partiality in the distribution of flour, and other articles usually issued as an extra allowance at the time of Christmas. But, whatever sentiments or misconceptions they harboured on the score of grievances, it was evident their resentment arose from a sense of indignity or degradation, not

from a sense of hardship, from scarcity of necessities, or severity of discipline. Though the leaders of the mutiny had probably something further in view than the mere redress of grievances, it does not appear they had formed any regular or deep concerted plan to subvert the community. The spirit of discontent, however, having generally diffused itself, at last broke forth in a manner highly alarming and dangerous.

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The ill-humour of the men first discovered itself on the day before Christmas, when they thought proper to refuse the usual allowances. This temper of mind being represented by some of the officers to the Governor, he voluntarily enlarged every man's ratio or proportion. On Friday, the 26th, a riotous body of them assembled under arms, complaining of their grievances. This tumult was, for the time, appeased by the Governor, who personally engaged to take their complaints into consideration, and to give them redress and satisfaction. On the 27th, in the afternoon, having consumed the quantity of spirits that was issued for them, they became turbulent in the street, and clamorous for more, and applied to the Captain of the week for that purpose. He, not thinking proper to take this upon himself, prevailed upon them to be quiet

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until he had signified their demands to the Governor. His answer not proving satisfactory, they armed themselves in the Barrack Square, and marched out with drums beating and fixed bayonets. They formed a body of upwards of two hundred men, with a serjeant (Tooley) at their head. Their aim was to gain the post on Ladder Hill, where there were field-pieces, mortars, and various ammunition, and where they would have entire command of the town below. The Governor and Lieutenant-Governor (Major Grame), on their way down Ladder Hill from the country, perceived them in motion from the barracks, and had just time to arrive in town before they reached the foot of the hill. The Governor seeing the impending danger, took the immediate resolution to follow them. Having consulted with, and given orders to Major Grame, with no other attendant than his groom, he threw himself amongst them, and endeavoured by persuasion to bring them back to their duty. The measure was bold and spirited, and it succeeded : he spoke to them with temper and firmness, soothed them by promising to remove their grievances, and added a general forgiveness for the step they had taken. Influenced by what he said, they returned the field-pieces which they had drawn out and loaded, and marched

down again with the Governor in their front. But their subjugation was by no means apparent. A gentleman who had followed the Governor to the top of Ladder Hill, and was much respected by them, endeavoured, by talking with them individually, to reason them into submission. The spirit of defection was, however, too strongly betrayed, both by their words and the sullen expression of their features; a circumstance which struck him the more, as he perceived the majority of them were perfectly sober. Observing on their way down that Major Grame was bringing cannon up the Parade, they halted, and faced to the valley, nor did they resume their march till the Governor sent instructions to withdraw the cannon, and the word of command was given by Tooley.

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The Governor, however, notwithstanding these symptoms, flattered himself that he had appeased them, and that their confidence in him would ensure a peaceable and submissive conduct for the future; and relying on these convictions, he returned the same evening to the country. But the majority of the inhabitants were not so tranquil. They dreaded the violence of such an assembly under arms; and Major Grame, alarmed not only by the mutinous conduct already mentioned, but by the insolent

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messages sent him by the garrison that night and the ensuing morning, advised the Governor to take certain military measures of prevention against a recurrence of such tumults. The Governor, however, declined agreeing to this proposition, on the ground that it would excite the jealousy of the men, and make them suspect he did not mean to keep terms with them.

On Monday, the 29th, the Council removed the principal grievance that was complained of, viz. the canteen; and directed the punch-houses to be opened on their former footing, allowing to them what was thought a sufficient quantity of spirits for the daily consumption of the garrison. The soldiers having finished this portion about five in the afternoon, again became riotous, and, in a high tone of insolence, demanded more liquor. Several of the officers, who mixed among them, endeavoured in vain to quell and compose them. The Governor now discovered that he had depended too far, and had thus prevented the aid of any immediate resource or remedy. The men on the main guard were almost equally to be suspected with those that were rioting in the street, as many of them had been concerned in the disturbance of Saturday. These, however, engaged to stand by him; and having secured Tooley, and made him prisoner, he

marched up the street at their head. Before this the rioters had betaken themselves to the barracks, to get their arms; and learning that the Governor was advancing with the main guard, they rushed out, and marched off with a design to take possession of the Alarm-House. Some men, who had a sense of their duty, and others who were restrained by the presence of the officers, marched down with Major Bazett to join the Governor. At this period the Governor desired Major Grame to go up the side-path after a small party before detached, and endeavour to gain the Alarm-House before the mutineers. Major Grame, with that ardour and alacrity for which he was remarkable, instantly mounted his horse, and rode off. The small party which he overtook could not keep up with him, being out of breath from the quick ascent of the hill. The mutineers had gained the advantage of the road by marching from the barracks directly up the side of the hill; and Major Grame had no other chance of reaching singly before them the Alarm-House, but by pushing on along the narrow, steep, but shorter, path, called the Saddle, that leads along the ridge. This he hazarded, and accomplished with imminent danger; for while he rode along this path the mutineers were very near him, had him fairly in view from the main road underneath,

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and fired repeated shots at him. It was dark when he reached the Alarm-House; where, with the six men of the guard, he discharged five round of the field-pieces at the mutineers as they approached. He did them, however, no injury, as they threw themselves down on the application of the port fires, and an intervening swell of the ground gave them shelter from the grape. Major Grame remained at the post till he was nearly surrounded, and with difficulty made his escape. A party of the mutineers pursued him for a considerable distance, firing at him several times. About ten at night, after making a long circuit, he returned to James's Valley, to the great satisfaction of his friends.

Shortly after Major Grame left the town, the Governor detached Major Bazett, with three officers and about seventy men, in pursuit of the mutineers. Major Bazett, finding they had gained possession of the Alarm-House, thought it best, instead of advancing up the open hill, to make a detour, and attack them from the ridge that descends to the back of that post. The mutineers, who were now under the command of a Serjeant Burnet, as successor to Tooley, had drawn out the field-pieces in different directions, and placed some to range along this ridge, expecting Major Bazett from that quarter.

When Major Bazett and his party came in view, which was not till he was very near them, they discharged their field-piece ; but without effect, from its too great elevation. The party instantly rushed on, seized the field-piece, and scattered those who had charge of it. An irregular discharge of musketry took place on both sides for ten or twelve minutes, when the mutineers gave way, and took refuge in the Alarm-House. Two of Major Bazett's men were killed, three of the adverse party wounded, and one hundred and three taken prisoners. This, however, was by no means the whole number that had taken up arms, for many of them escaped under cover of the night, and mixed undiscovered with the Governor's party. Ninety-nine of the prisoners were condemned to death, by the sentence of a general court-martial ; but, as the execution of so many men was deemed too sanguinary a proceeding, Serjeant Burnet only and nine others suffered death, and the rest were forgiven.*

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It is not easy to express the fears and confu-

* Serjeant Tooley was shortly afterwards sent off the island, in a packet bound for England, which, on her passage, was wrecked off Scilly, and every soul on board perished.

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sion that prevailed among the inhabitants during these transactions. The various rumours that were circulated, the uncertainty respecting the success of Major Bazett, and the fate of Major Grame, kept them in suspense for several hours. The Governor remained in town, and made every arrangement for their defence (in case of Major Bazett's failure) that the unprepared state and the doubtful faith of many of his party would admit.

It tended, perhaps, to ensure the future safety of the island that the question was brought to the decision of arms, for the seditious characters among the troops were thus discovered, and sent away; and the exemplary punishments inflicted on the delinquents, struck a terror into others, and gave prospect of security against similar disturbances.

From the history of these proceedings it may be perceived, that though lenity and indulgence frequently conduce rather to aggravate than to soothe symptoms of discontent, and that though the strictest administration of justice is necessary to the support of government and the peace of society; yet, that, in the exercise of coercion, and in the reform of abuses, it is highly important to guard against trivial and

vexatious innovations ; it is the part of prudence to consider what species of feeling is the most alive to attack, to touch tenderly what is easily irritated, and to estimate the extent of human endurance.

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CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE YEAR 1788 TO THE YEAR 1808.

Arrival of Governor Brooke—New measures—Reform in the slave laws—Expedition planned against the Cape of Good Hope—Capture of nine Dutch East-Indiamen—Succours sent from St. Helena to the Cape—Governor Brooke proceeds to England, and leaves the government in charge of Lieutenant-Governor Robson—Arrival of Governor Patton—Expedition to Buenos Ayres joined by a detachment from St. Helena—Distress occasioned by the measles—Vaccination introduced—Governor Patton proceeds to England, and leaves the government in charge of Lieutenant-Governor Lane—Arrival of Governor Bealson.

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GOVERNOR CORNEILLE having requested permission to resign, Robert Brooke, Esq. was appointed his successor. Mr. Brooke had been in the Company's service at Bengal, where his military talents and conduct, and his inflexible integrity, had been frequently and importantly called into action, and this claim on their individual esteem was further increased by his enter-

prising and patriotic exertions for the benefit of his native country.*

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* As the present state of Ireland (the native country of Mr. Brooke) has lately excited so much interest, and given birth to so many various events, the author is tempted to present to the reader the following extract, as a proof of the benefit a nation may derive from the efforts of a single individual.

“ Extract from the Report of a Committee of the Irish
“ Parliament, upon a petition of Robert Brooke, Esq.
“ of the town of Prosperous, in the county of Kildare.

“ 1st. Resolved, That it appears to this Committee that
“ the cotton manufacture was introduced into the king-
“ dom, upon an enlarged scale, by Robert Brooke; who,
“ after surmounting all the difficulties of its infancy, has at
“ length established it at Prosperous, in a most perfect and
“ extensive manner.

“ 4thly. Resolved, That it appears to this Committee,
“ that the cotton-works of Prosperous employ nearly seven
“ thousand persons; and that a very great number of child-
“ ren and young people are now training up there to in-
“ dustry and beneficial manufacture.

“ 10thly. Resolved, That it appears to this Committee,
“ that it was a great and spirited undertaking of the said
“ Robert Brooke, when possessed of an easy, competent
“ fortune, to hazard the whole of it in attempting to secure
“ to this country a manufacture of such great importance
“ to its future prosperity; and that he deserves the protec-
“ tion and assistance of Parliament.”

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At the same period, Major Robson, formerly a Captain on the Madras establishment, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor; he arrived in the ship *Chesterfield*, on the 11th of May 1787, and the following day Governor Brooke landed from the *Francis*. Although Mr. Brooke was sworn in as Governor before his departure from England, he only acted as Lieutenant-Governor till Mr. Corneille left the island (about a month after), when the new commission of government was opened, appointing Robert Brooke, Esq. Governor, Major Francis Robson Lieutenant-Governor, and Matthew Bazett and William Wrangham, Esqrs. Members of Council.

To whatever causes the late mutiny in the garrison might be traced, it certainly did not proceed from want of frequent and severe corporeal punishment. Governor Brooke, desirous of rousing that sense of shame which had been extinguished by a repeated application of the lash, allowed stripes, in lesser offences, to be commuted for labour; but so deeply depraved were some of the delinquents, that they refused the alternative, and preferred flogging, to which by custom they had become familiarized. A reformation, however, of such mental degradation was not despaired of by the Governor. They were separated from their comrades under

the designation of the *miscreants' mess*, the worst provisions were allotted to them, and the many deprivations and marks of odium that they thus incurred, soon placed them in a contemptible and mortifying light in the eyes of their brother-soldiers. This circumstance produced greater effect than the lashes that had formerly been inflicted. Their earnest entreaty to be relieved from so irksome a situation was, after much apparent difficulty, complied with; and from that period there has never been occasion to renew the establishment of a *miscreants' mess*. By the labour obtained in this manner, tracts of waste ground, offensive to the eye, and receptacles of filth, were converted into a handsome parade for the soldiers, and into gardens, highly ornamental to the town, and beneficial to the hospital. But more solid advantages than the acquisition of gardens or parades were gained by the decency and order that became manifest in the garrison, the improved appearance of which was observed by every passing stranger who had an opportunity of contrasting it with its former state. Light-infantry manœuvres and sham-fights formed a source of recreation and military instruction both to officers and privates, with which until then they had been unacquainted. Recruits to keep the garrison strength had formerly been procured with difficulty, as none

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were enlisted, except those sent out immediately from England; but numbers of discharged soldiers, returning from India, perfectly restored to health on the passage to St. Helena, now offered with alacrity to renew their time of service. Thus an accession of above nine hundred men was, at different times, obtained during this government; which, with the recruits received from England, enabled the Governor to forward drafts to India, amounting, at different periods, to the number of twelve hundred and ten men, all of them disciplined soldiers, prepared for a hot country by a seasoning in the medium climate of St. Helena.* The military establishment at

* As circumstances connected with this government, it may not be irrelevant to the subject to lay before the reader the following extracts:—

Extract of a letter from Marquis Cornwallis to Governor Brooke:

“ I have been favoured with your letter, dated the 11th April, and am truly sensible of the earnest and meritorious zeal with which you have been actuated in preparing and embarking for the service of this country so considerable a part of the force of your island.”

Extract from the Honourable Court of Directors' General Letter to St. Helena, dated 29th February, 1792:

“ Our advices from Madrás communicated to us the
“ pleasing

St. Helena had been on a very confined scale from the first settlement of the island. At the commencement of Mr. Brooke's government, it consisted of four companies of infantry and one of artillery ; and as the transfer of officers from one Company's settlement to another is not ad-

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“ pleasing intelligence that the detachment you embarked
“ on the Alfred had arrived in excellent condition, and at
“ a very seasonable period. Impressed as we are with the
“ merits of Governor Brooke, in this instance we cannot
“ forbear repeating our approbation of the exertions he has
“ evinced in effecting this measure.”

The two following extracts are taken from a letter written to Governor Brooke, from head-quarters, Choultry Plain (near Madras), dated 14th Sept. 1796 :

“ SIR,

“ I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the
“ 12th July. The party of two hundred and fifty men,
“ which you sent on board the Canton, arrived here in
“ high health and excellent order, and have proved a timely
“ and valuable recruit ; upwards of seventy were drafted
“ into the artillery, and Colonel Geels (who commands
“ that corps) reports very favourably of them. I hope the
“ party you propose embarking on the Boddam will soon
“ reach us.”

“ I shall pay every attention to the officers who came
“ here in charge of the detachment : their conduct in pre-
“ serving regularity and discipline deserves my approba-
“ tion.”

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mitted, the promotion of those at St. Helena was of course very slow. The Governor, in his correspondence with the Honourable Court of Directors, urged the propriety of increasing the strength of the garrison ; and, in the year 1796, it was augmented to a battalion of infantry and a strong corps of artillery. An unprecedented promotion was the necessary consequence ; and those who entered the service with no higher expectations than of obtaining a Captain's commission, now beheld the rank of a field-officer within their reach, and new spirits and animation were diffused throughout the garrison.

In the course of this government, also, the security of the island was essentially increased, by an organization of the male population into a disciplined and well appointed militia. The force under that name had previously consisted of between thirty and forty effective men, of the white inhabitants exclusively ; to whom, in the year after Governor Brooke's arrival, were attached a few selected blacks. The encouragement he gave to discharged soldiers of good character to settle on the island, conjoined with an increasing population, gradually augmented the white militia, until the number became sufficient to form two companies. Two companies

of blacks were then embodied, and the whole organized into a corps, officered by the Company's civil servants, and commanded by a member of Council. They were drilled twice a week, until they were deemed to have attained an adequate proficiency for such operations as might probably be required of them, in the event of their services being called for. The importance of this measure was afterwards very sensibly felt, upon the occasion of a mutiny amongst a portion of the garrison in the year 1811.

The errors in the system of defence, noticed in the third chapter, had not escaped the observation of either Governor Lambert or Major Rennell; but nothing to remedy the evil had been effected, until Governor Brooke determined to apply those principles for the security of the island which had so successfully distinguished his military career in a part of India, where the face of the country was in some respects similar to St. Helena. In this view, positions were chosen on the heights, and at different passes and defiles; the field-pieces and mortars were removed from improper situations to posts where they could be brought to act with more effect. But as these measures were novel, doubts were entertained in the island respecting their propriety; and their further prosecution was or-

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dered by the Court of Directors to be suspended until General Sir Archibald Campbell, who was then expected on his return from India, should inspect, and report his opinion, both on the works which had already been constructed, and on those in contemplation. On his arrival, he minutely surveyed what had been done; and, upon the occasion of a general alarm, which happened during his stay, he had an opportunity of observing the dispositions made to repel an expected attack: the change of system received his decided approbation, as it did afterwards that of Marquis Cornwallis. But Sir Archibald lamented that a too rigid regard to economy had considerably cramped the plans of the Governor.

The only mode hitherto practised of announcing the approach of ships to the island was by firing guns, after which all further particulars were transmitted by men who had to run a distance of, perhaps, seven or eight miles. In place of this dilatory and inconvenient channel of communication, a code of signals was substituted; which, though not very comprehensive, yet, it is needless to say, was an improvement of the utmost importance.

The dangers attending the tremendous surfs which dash against the shores of St. Helena

were much aggravated by the want of a safe landing-place in rough weather; and as there was but one crane, much delay and inconvenience were experienced by the ships. To obviate these evils, Governor Brooke projected a plan for prolonging the wharf to a jutting rock, where he had observed that the fisherman could often land when the common landing-place at the stairs was impracticable. This plan he accomplished, after some difficulty; and thus an additional crane and landing-place were obtained, which can almost at all times be approached with safety, not a life having been lost there since their construction; though, prior to that period, serious accidents were frequent.

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As the introduction of the British system of jurisprudence was not intended to extend further than the nature of existing circumstances on the island should admit, the relative situations of master and slave were consequently not affected. But as no special laws had been framed for the protection of slaves, too much power certainly remained in the hands of their proprietors; and though it might not be abused by humane masters, which in justice must be allowed was the character of the greater part, yet the records sufficiently evince that all did not come under that description. Incidents of

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unwarrantable severity, or improper treatment, received immediate redress from the Governor, and the aggressors were fined in a manner that had not hitherto been customary. But as it is better to prevent evils than to be necessitated to apply a remedy, it was judged eligible to limit the authority of the master, and extend that of the magistrate ; and a code of laws was accordingly drawn out for the government and protection of slaves, which was submitted to the consideration of the Honourable Court of Directors. Though the Court did not approve of the system in all its parts, yet they established a set of laws nearly similar to those proposed by Governor Brooke. By this code, a master is allowed to punish his slave with twelve lashes ; but if he conceives the fault to call for more severe correction, a magistrate must be appealed to, who, with the concurrence of the Governor, awards such chastisement as may appear expedient. If a master exceeds his powers, he is liable to a prosecution by his slave before the justices ; and, on the other hand, a frivolous or unfounded complaint, on the part of the slave, incurs a punishment at the discretion of the magistrates. By this code also the further importation of slaves was interdicted.*

* See Appendix, I.

The use of the plough, which had been laid aside at the termination of Colonel Dunbar's government, was once more introduced upon parts of the Company's lands; but Long Wood, the situation above all others in the hands of government where it could have been most beneficially applied, was not at Governor Brooke's disposal, having been previously appropriated to the raising of trees. Amongst other operations, a current of water was conveyed from the springs under Diana's Peak to Dead Wood, and proved the means of preserving a large stock of the Company's cattle during a very severe drought; and although the scheme of conducting water from Plantation House to Ladder Hill had been considered wild and chimerical, yet a stream was conveyed thither, and was of material use in forwarding the works there. The encouragement he afforded to industry and private improvement was conspicuous in its effects. His example, in the formation of water-courses, excited the attention of individuals to the same object. Several tracts of waste land, also, were enclosed and rendered valuable. Within the first two years of his government, the stock of black cattle augmented from two thousand two hundred and two, to two thousand five hundred and four; of sheep, from two thousand three

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hundred, to two thousand three hundred and eighty-eight; and the amount of sales to the ships, of cattle, sheep, hogs, fowls, vegetables, and fruits, from four thousand five hundred and twenty-four pounds three shillings and seven pence, to six thousand six hundred and seventy-two-pounds six shillings and eight pence. The extension of the potatoe plantations, which also took place in his government, has been the means of affording the most ample supplies of that article to the ships; and the prospect of increasing wealth, which stimulated the exertions of the planters, occasioned the erection of several comfortable and handsome dwellings.

The situation of St. Helena suggested to the Governor the plan of forming an establishment connected with the South Whale-fishery. He proposed that there should be a depôt on the island, where the ships employed in the fishery should bring their cargoes, and unload them there, which would relieve them from the necessity of returning so frequently to Europe. The cargoes thus deposited were to be carried home in the ships employed to bring out the annual supplies.

The Court declined any active co-operation in the execution of this proposal, but willingly

consented to grant to any individual who chose to embark in the trade, whatever advantages the island could supply. The subject has, in consequence, been under the contemplation of some respectable merchants; and it is only the expense which must be incurred in constructing the necessary buildings that has as yet suspended the execution of the project. It is common, however, for the vessels employed in the whale-fishery to touch at the island for refreshment and health; and of late, when all the other ports in these latitudes have been closed against them, the number of these visitors has, of course, much increased. The attentions which they received from Governor Brooke induced the principal merchants employed in this trade to present him with a handsome piece of plate, in testimony of their respect.

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The Honourable Court of Directors, as a mark of their approbation of Governor Brooke's conduct and services, were pleased to increase his salary to one thousand pounds per annum, and conferred on him a commission of Lieutenant-Colonel, and afterwards of Colonel, with the pay annexed to that rank.

In the month of May, 1795, his Majesty's ship *Sceptre* arrived at the island, as a convoy

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for the homeward-bound fleet, and brought intelligence that Holland had been overrun by the armies of France, and that the Dutch would inevitably be compelled to join in the war against England. A project instantly occurred to the zealous and active mind of the Governor, of making an effort to secure the Cape of Good Hope before this information should reach that colony. It was understood that barracks had been prepared there for the reception of some British troops, as a reinforcement to the garrison; a circumstance that would have given plausibility to the measure of taking a force thither upon the plea that an immediate attack was to be apprehended from the French. The Governor had good information respecting the state of the colony and the disposition of part of its garrison. He had long been in the habits of correspondence with Colonel Gordon (the Commandant of the troops), a man whose principles were suspected by the republican party as being too favourable to the British interest; and Mr. Pringle, who had recently arrived from the Cape, where he had resided as Company's agent, was enabled to afford several essential points of intelligence. This gentleman concurred with the Governor that the project was practicable; and Captain Essington, of the *Sceptre*, being decidedly of the same opinion, agreed to co-operate

in the undertaking. The proposal was then laid before the Council, and was immediately followed by their assent, as it also was by an opinion of its expediency on the part of most of the Commanders of the Company's ships then at the island.* Three hundred picked men were in consequence embarked on board the Sceptre and the Company's ships the General Goddard, Manship, and a small fast-sailing vessel called the Orpheus, which were lightened of part of their cargoes, and strengthened by additional men. A corps of volunteer seamen were also selected from the other ships, and placed under the command of Captain Price, of the Lord Hawkesbury, so that with the marines and seamen from the Sceptre, a force of about six hundred men was collected to act on shore. This

* Upon this occasion, Captain Money, of the General Goddard, expressed himself as follows:—"I have been informed
" that it has been customary for the Captains of the H. C.'s
" ships to protest against their being sent on any duty which
" deviates from the direct line of their voyage. Against this
" mode of protecting the interest of my owners, I hold up my
" hands, but convinced of the importance of an undertaking
" which cannot be carried on without our assistance, I shall
" with fervent zeal for the benefit of my honourable employ-
" ers, and with ardour in the cause of my country, co-operate
" to the best of my abilities, relying on the tried honour of
" the East-India Company to indemnify my owners for all
" losses which they may sustain."

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little armament, the military part of which was headed by Governor Brooke, and the naval commanded by Captain Essington, weighed anchor, on the 1st of June, in the hope of gaining possession, by stratagem, of the castle at the Cape of Good Hope, and holding it till a reinforcement should arrive; but on the following morning they fell in with the Swallow packet from the Cape, and an hour or two after, the Arniston store-ship, from England, made her appearance. By this, intelligence was received that the expedition was anticipated by a force sent out under Sir George Elphinstone and General Craig. It was understood, however, that a valuable homeward-bound fleet, of near twenty sail, was on the eve of departure from the Cape when the Swallow sailed; and the offensive operations at St. Helena became directed to this object. The Sceptre and the rest of the squadron having returned to their anchorage, Captain Essington made a request to the Governor that some of the Company's ships might be put under his orders, to assist him in intercepting the expected fleet, as the Sceptre alone might be inadequate to effect it. The Manship, the General Goddard, and the Swallow, were therefore placed under his command, together with the troops that had been previously embarked on those ships for the expedition; a

company of artillery was also ordered to remain on board the Sceptre, and the squadron weighed anchor and stood to windward on the 3d of June, whilst the utmost exertions were used for preparing the Asia, Lord Hawkesbury, Essex, Airly Castle, and Busbridge, to join them. On this occasion, not only every spare warehouse, but even the church, was filled with goods unladen from the ships, that they might in all points be rendered efficient for the service they were intended to perform. Independent of the serious responsibility which the Governor thus incurred, his proceedings were in the face of the formal protests of all the commanders of the Company's ships employed on the occasion.* But his own security had no weight in the balance against the cause of his country and his employers, and he resolutely persisted in the undertaking, which in its consequences involved the annihilation of the Dutch East-India Company.

The Lord Hawkesbury, in the attempt to weather the island, split her sails, and was

* These protests were against eventual loss or damage from the measures alluded to, but not against the adoption of those measures, which, on the contrary, received the decided and zealous support and co-operation of the commanders.

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forced to return to port ; the Essex also sprung her fore-top-mast ; but the Busbridge soon effected a junction with the commodore. On the 10th of June, one of the expected fleet, called the Hughley, fell in with the squadron, and was sent into the Roads, accompanied by the Swallow, which ship immediately returned back to her station with a number of additional seamen to reinforce the fleet. A great deal of blowing weather, however, occasioned a separation of the Manship and Busbridge ; and the General Goddard and Swallow were in consequence the only ships left with the Sceptre. From these three ships, on the afternoon of the 14th of June, were descried seven sail on the weather bow, steering down before the wind. The Goddard's signal was made to keep her wind, while the Sceptre and Swallow stood athwart the course of the fleet in sight, through which the Goddard passed about one A. M., and was fired at, without returning a shot. At day-break the following morning, the fleet was still on the starboard bow of the Sceptre and Swallow, and at seven A. M. displayed Dutch colours, whilst their commodore fired a gun to leeward. This was repeated by the Sceptre, and Captain Essington supposed it would be followed by their heaving to, but in this he was mistaken, nor was it even

effected by three shots fired a-head of the van ship. A signal was therefore made to the Goddard to *bring the chace down to the Sceptre*. The Goddard almost instantaneously appeared under a cloud of canvas, and was laid alongside the Dutch commodore, who, from her imposing appearance, and high state of discipline, concluded her to be nothing less than a frigate, and in consequence submitted to Captain Moneys's directions to bear down ; but by this time the Dutch Captains had given their crews such intoxicating draughts of spirituous liquors that they became ripe for repelling force by force, and several shots were fired between the masts of the Sceptre, as well as at the boats, which were sent with boarding parties. A few rounds, however, from the Sceptre showed the inefficacy of resistance, and the Asia and Busbridge at the same time heaving in sight, the seven Dutch ships were taken possession of without the loss of a single life, and came to anchor in St Helena Roads on the night of the 17th of June. As a means for securing the remainder of the Dutch fleet, Governor Brooke lost no time in dispatching the Echo, a fast-sailing ship, for England, with such intelligence as might enable the Admiralty to adopt measures for their interception; and he had afterwards the satisfaction of hearing that his information had produced the

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desired effect. The Sceptre, with her convoy and the prizes, sailed for England on the 1st of July, and on the following day another Dutch ship was secured in the Roads.

Soon after these occurrences his Majesty's ship *Sphynx* arrived with dispatches from Admiral Sir George Elphinstone and General Craig. Affairs at the Cape were not at that time in a promising state. The attempt to obtain possession of the colony by negotiation was unsuccessful, and our little army there was inadequate to effect it by force. By these dispatches, therefore, the General represented to Governor Brooke that no augmentation could be "so inconsiderable as not to be acceptable;" he also stated, that "he had not a single gun, "nor an artillery-man with him," and requested that a couple of six-pounders and a howitzer, with ammunition, might be forwarded. The necessity was likewise urged for a supply of specie. Not a moment was lost in putting on board the *Arniston* nine pieces of field ordnance, a complete company of artillery, and three of infantry, amounting in the whole to three hundred and ninety-three men, all trained to field-piece practice, with ten thousand pounds in cash, and a supply of ammunition and salt provisions.

Governor Brooke on this occasion had the high honour of being noticed by the approbation of his Sovereign, contained in a letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, of which the following is a copy :

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“ Horse-Guards, 30th Oct. 1795.

“ I have received, and laid before the King,
“ your letters of the 13th of July and 12th of
“ September last, with their enclosures ; and it
“ is with peculiar satisfaction that I obey his Ma-
“ jesty’s commands in communicating to you,
“ by opportunity of the Dart packet, his Majes-
“ ty’s perfect approbation of the zeal and ala-
“ crity you have manifested on every occurrence
“ interesting to this country, in the course of
“ the present war, and particularly of your
“ judicious and spirited proceedings since you
“ received the intelligence of the invasion of
“ the United Provinces by the enemy.

“ The measures taken by you for securing
“ the Dutch East-Indiamen which touched at
“ St. Helena, and the intelligence you have
“ transmitted respecting the remainder of those
“ ships, merit great commendation ; and your
“ exertions in forwarding to Admiral Sir George
“ Keith Elphinstone and General Craig, at the
“ Cape, the succours of money, men, ordnance,

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“ and stores, at a time when a speedy supply
“ of those articles was become so essentially
“ necessary, will, I trust, be attended with the
“ most beneficial consequences to the interest
“ of this kingdom, and of the East-India Com-
“ pany ; and I cannot indulge in this pleasing
“ expectation, without feeling that it has been
“ so materially improved by your unremitting
“ vigilance and care to promote that important
“ service.

“ I have, &c.

(Signed) “ HENRY DUNDAS.”

“ To Governor BROOKE.”

The Honourable Court of Directors also, fully aware of the importance of Governor Brooke's services, were pleased to signify their approbation in their General Letter to St. Helena, dated 5th January, 1796, of which the following are extracts :

“ We feel infinite satisfaction at the perusal
“ of the proceedings referred to in this para-
“ graph. The zeal and alacrity with which the
“ intended expedition to the Cape was planned,
“ and in part carried into execution, deserve our

“ warmest commendation, and your records do
“ not furnish (to our recollection), since the
“ island has been in the Company’s possession,
“ an instance where this little settlement has
“ been so eminently useful.”

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“ It would be injustice to withhold from
“ Governor Brooke the praise so justly due to
“ him for the promptitude which he manifested
“ in planning, and carrying into execution, the
“ intended expedition. In our review of his
“ conduct throughout this arduous service, we
“ find it equally deserving our approbation in
“ the alacrity he first manifested in heading the
“ detachment in person ; the zeal he afterwards
“ evinced in furnishing supplies to Sir George
“ Keith Elphinstone and General Craig far ex-
“ ceeding their expectations. These active,
“ zealous, and meritorious exertions in our Go-
“ vernor in forwarding the public service, de-
“ mand our warmest thanks.”

As so considerable a part of the St. Helena troops was spared to assist in the reduction of the Cape, a more than ordinary degree of alertness was necessarily required from the remainder of the garrison, particularly as they had to guard about three hundred prisoners (including Malays), taken out of the Dutch ships, for

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whom there was no proper place of confinement. The militia, however, cheerfully bore a share in the fatigue; and between seventy and eighty of the prisoners, who were found to be Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, and were desirous of changing masters, enlisted in the Company's service. The Malays, also, considered their capture by the English as a release from slavery; and readily agreed to take an oath of fidelity, and enter the British service. They were accordingly incorporated into two companies, and trained to artillery practice. They proved extremely useful; and, during the two years which they remained on the island, were no less conspicuous for their discipline than for their peaceable conduct. But this may certainly be attributed to the peculiar manner in which they were treated. No European was suffered to strike or chastise them on any pretence whatever; and they were punished by no other authority than the sentence of a court-martial, composed of Malay officers. If the author's information be correct, they were afterwards sent from Bencoolen to Ceylon, and a Malay regiment engrafted on the two companies. Those measures, together with a further acquisition of recruits, and the return of the detachment from the Cape, augmented the force of the garrison to a number far exceeding its strength at any former period.

The many services rendered by Governor Brooke to the Company and the nation, impressed upon Marquis Wellesley, the then Governor-General of India, so lively a sense of his merits, that he could not forbear manifesting his sentiments by a distinguished mark of his approbation; and the Honourable Henry Wellesley was commissioned by his noble brother to present a sword to Colonel Brooke; which was accordingly done on the 11th of November, 1799, at the head of the garrison at St. Helena.*

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* Colonel Brooke received a letter from Lord Mornington, dated Fort St. George, the 13th of August, of which the following is an extract:—

“ SIR,

“ My brother, who carries my dispatches to England,
“ will have the honour of delivering this letter to you. He
“ will also, by my direction, present you with a sword
“ taken in the palace of Seringapatam, which I request you
“ to accept of as a testimony of my esteem.

“ I have, &c.”

The Honourable H. Wellesley, upon this occasion, delivered the following address from himself:—

“ COLONEL BROOKE,

“ I am directed by the Governor-General to present this
“ sword to you, with a request that you will accept it as a
“ testimony of his esteem, and of his high sense of your
“ zealous

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After fourteen years of anxious toil, a severe illness obliged Governor Brooke to return to Europe; and upon the 16th of March, 1801, he left the island, very sincerely and generally regretted. Upon his departure, the government devolved on Lieutenant-Governor Robson, who filled the chair until the arrival, in March, the following year, of Colonel Patton.*

Colonel Patton had been formerly on the Bengal establishment, where he filled the situation of Military Secretary successively under General Smith, Governor Cartier, and Governor Hastings.

Among the essential improvements of Go-

“ zealous exertions, on all occasions where the public in-
“ terests are concerned.

“ Lord Mornington is particularly desirous that you
“ should know how highly he approves and admires the
“ zeal, energy, and spirit, which prompted you to forward
“ pecuniary supplies to India at a moment which appeared
“ to you to demand such aid. I cannot omit this oppor-
“ tunity of testifying the satisfaction which I feel at pre-
“ senting this memorial to you of a conquest, not less ad-
“ vantageous to the interest of the nation than it is honour-
“ able to the British character in India.”

* The author of the Principles of Asiatic Monarchies.

vernor Patton is to be included the establishment of telegraphs, of a very simple and cheap construction, invented by himself: the advantages and security obtained by such a system are incalculable. To the ordnance department much of his attention has been directed; the nature of the country at once points out the importance of rendering the guns on the heights completely effective, which was accomplished by some material alterations in the construction of their carriages. These alterations now afford the means of firing hot and cold shot, at any required degree of depression, with a facility and accuracy that has astonished every military character who has lately witnessed the St. Helena artillery practice. Four men are enabled to work a two-and-thirty pounder with almost twice the expedition and precision that could be formerly effected by seven, and a greater disposable force is consequently acquired. With this means of defence every spot is now supplied where a man can possibly effect a landing and ascend the heights; and the interior defensive measures that have been adopted are much approved by the highest professional characters who have had opportunities of inspecting them.

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It has very lately been discovered that the

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volcanic production, called Terra Puzzolana, abounds at St. Helena, particularly about James's Valley, and the adjacent parts of the sea coast.* This substance, it is understood, derives its name from a place in Italy, where it was found in abundance, from the same cause which has produced it at St. Helena. Its properties are, to form, in conjunction with lime, a cement remarkably retentive of water; in contact with which it acquires almost the solidity of rock; and a discovery apparently so important, induced Governor Patton to construct channels for the conveyance of water to situations where it was required: but these aqueducts, in a little time, became obstructed by the fibrous roots of vegetable matter penetrating the bed and covering of the channel, and this method of conveying water has therefore been laid aside.†

* Whether the substance here noticed is really what it was thought, has been since doubted.

† Extract from Governor Patton's minutes, entered on Consultation, 20th October, 1806 :—

“ Having made repeated trials with the Puzzolana and
 “ lime conjoined with gravel, I am assured and confident
 “ in the effect to be produced, the combination becoming,
 “ in contact with the water, like a consolidated rock, im-
 “ pervious to every thing; a channel formed with it will,
 “ therefore, prove an invaluable acquisition. It so hap-
 “ pens

With a view to the preservation of wood, conformably to the law of Governor Roberts, it had

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“ pens, most fortunately for the island, that the fabrication of such a channel is much more easy, and even cheaper, than those which have been formed of clay. I am now in the process of making one which will convey every drop of the water from the High-well cistern in a pure undiminished current, to the Ladder Hill post, giving a supply as it passes to the intended Block-house above it. About two hundred yards of this channel is completed, which enables me to form a judgment of the expense. To one bushel of lime I put about a bushel and a half of Puzzolana, and about a bushel of gravel. The lime is previously beat up with water, and then the other articles are added to it, and the whole completely mixed together for immediate use, which is always recommended. Along the side of the hill, a level track, like a path, being cut about two feet broad, and the bottom consolidated by ramming a layer of Puzzolana composition with lime and gravel, is spread to the thickness of an inch and the width of a foot, regulated by a frame constructed for the purpose. This forms a bed, upon which two bricks on edge, or the High-well stone, cut to that form and size, are placed within three inches of each other, being jointed with Puzzolana and lime, to form a channel for the water: but after it has been framed in this manner, the interior of the channel is coated over with plaister, or mortar, of Puzzolana and lime, as a finishing; the channel is then covered by slate, bedded and jointed with this composition, so that the channel is every where impervious. This aqueduct is supported on each side, to the breadth of the path, by an inclosure, formed of earth, mortar, and stone; and the whole being

“ covered

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been customary to insert a clause in every lease granted by the Company, binding the tenant to maintain trees upon a full tenth part of the land; but from the great demand for labour (of which even the government had at no period sufficient at its disposal for public purposes, without hiring the slaves of the inhabitants and of course withdrawing them from husbandry), it was next to impossible to make fences adequate to protect any grounds, except those in the immediate vicinity of dwellings, from the depredations of wild goats and sheep. Governor Roberts, indeed, declined hiring the slaves of those whose lands required their labour, but this rule was not adhered to by the generality of his successors; a deviation for which much might be said in defence when measures connected with securing the island from hostile attacks required the employment of numbers on the fortifications. From this cause few Governors would have felt it equitable to insist on the rigid enforcement of the terms of the leases: the wood had progressively decreased, and the state of the fences certainly had not mended; every year augmented the difficulty of fulfilling the engagement, and

“ covered with turf and earth, to the thickness of a foot
“ over the channel, is rendered sufficiently secure against
“ external injury of every kind.”

Governor Brooke had openly professed the nullity of the obligation, avowing that, under existing circumstances, the words could only be considered as a matter of form.

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Governor Patton was impressed with the same sentiment, but he justly conceived it would be better to strike out the clause in question rather than to continue the form of an obligation not intended to be acted upon. He judged, however, that planting, on ever so small a scale, was better than not planting at all, and he therefore proposed that the specification in the leases should be only six trees per acre, and that they might be planted upon whatever part of the occupant's land, free or lease, he might think fit, which would probably be near his dwelling, and of course best protected, and where the enclosure for the purpose would most likely be sufficiently capacious to contain and encourage the planting of a greater number than the lease expressed. As a further inducement, the Governor proposed that a conformity to the regulation should entitle the tenant (provided the other terms were fulfilled) to a renewal of his lease as a matter of right. These proposals were fully approved and confirmed by the Honourable Court of Directors, and a proclamation was issued to that effect.

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About twenty-five years prior to Colonel Patton's government, the blackberry plant was introduced on the island. This production, so useful in other countries when placed in hedges, however, produced consequences at St. Helena as unexpected as they were alarming. The climate and soil of this island are so congenial to the growth of the blackberry, that it overspread large tracts of the best pasture lands; its devastations were annually multiplying, and the subject had excited so much apprehension, that the Honourable Court of Directors had strongly recommended its extirpation. The Grand Jury, at the quarter sessions in July, 1806, represented the evil as requiring the immediate attention of Government: every exertion from individuals had proved inadequate to this purpose, as the necessary labours for their husbandry and farms required the full employment of more than all their hands. The Governor therefore proposed, that a part of the garrison should be allotted to this special duty, commencing where the evil was most prevalent, to be regularly relieved, and the undertaking prosecuted until it was subdued; Mr. Porteous, as Superintendent of Improvements, being intrusted with the direction, under the instructions of a committee. A specific pay to the men, and a gra-

tuity to the superintendent, was to be paid by the proprietors of the land; who were afterwards to be bound to keep their possessions clear from this destructive plant.

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The operation had begun with a part of the Company's land, and some progress was made, when attention became necessary to the defences of the island, which interrupted the undertaking from want of labour.

This evil had often been a subject of complaint of former Governors, and in later years, such was its pressure, that prosecutions were constantly risked, and sometimes penalties incurred, by employing people on Sundays, mostly on double wages, as the only means of planting and digging crops and keeping fences in order.

It may possibly be said that the evils arising from a dearth of hands has a tendency to correct itself; that the high price of wages acts as a bounty on the increase of population; and that labour will seldom be long wanting where it meets with such encouragement.

But this general principle will hardly apply to a place like St. Helena, where slaves form the

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majority of the population. Upon this class the stimulus supplied by higher wages acts but feebly if it act at all. Whether they work for their masters or are hired out, it is the masters alone who are benefited, in the one case by their labour, in the other by the price of that labour. The demoralizing effects moreover of slavery, without the counteraction of some other powerful principle, are manifested (at St. Helena at least) by a too prevalent promiscuous intercourse, which is usually considered to be a check to the increase of population.

The practice of Government employing the slaves of the inhabitants, though in many cases unavoidable, not only deprived the lands of that labour which might have rendered them more productive, but the income thus obtained by the slave proprietors, had a tendency to lessen their dependence on their farms for subsistence. It is, moreover, to be observed, that although next to the security of the island the promotion of its produce ought to be regarded as the chief object in fulfilling the intentions of its colonization, yet the general bias of those who became new settlers was to employ their capital (however small it might be) in mercantile concerns. Provisions are furnished from Europe and the East-Indies, and the quantity of

them imported by the Government is regulated by the probable demand. Besides this stock there are other supplies, brought by the various vessels that touch. Money, therefore, will always command provisions; and money itself is most readily obtained by mercantile pursuits. The profuse habits of those who have acquired fortunes in India are infallibly brought into exercise. As this is commonly the first land which they reach after a passage of three months, it is not a little curious to observe with what eagerness some of them seem to seize the opportunity to disburthen themselves of their wealth. The price of European articles is on these occasions raised to an exorbitant height; and fortunes have been made, which in the scale of the island, may be called considerable. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that a pursuit so tempting in its returns, and recommended as well by the comparative indolence which it allows, as by the convivial habits which it encourages, should be preferred to the more laborious but less lucrative and less sociable employment of husbandry.

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Under these circumstances the number of dwellings in the country did not increase, whilst those in town multiplied annually. The building of these new habitations, and supplying

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their occupants with domestics, shopmen, porters, fishermen, hewers of wood and drawers of water, occasioned a further abstraction of labour from the farms; the town's-people, whenever slaves were to be sold, being generally able to outbid those who had no other dependance than their lands: the difficulties of the latter were thus progressively augmented, and several persons whose bent of mind would have led them to become active cultivators, were deterred from attempting to follow their inclinations merely from the want of slaves. In 1790 the ordinary price of a good slave was £40; in 1800 it was from £60 to £70; and within ten years after, from £120 to £150 was not an uncommon price: a large capital was therefore necessary to commence farming upon.

In order to obviate, in some degree, the difficulties proceeding from the insufficiency of labour, Governor Brooke had encouraged soldiers of good character, who had served their contracted time, to become settlers; and Governor Patton, concurring in the expediency of the measure, followed his example, and the practice still continues. The wages paid to these men by the landholders, though they nominally exceeded the estimated annual cost of a slave, yet the difference was more than made up by the superior industry

and vigour of the European. The labour of a free man, being prompted more by hope than by fear, is universally acknowledged to be more productive than the labour of a slave, whose principal incentive is the dread of punishment. It must indeed be allowed, this observation has not been so applicable to the free blacks in former years, as is perceptible in later periods; but a great number of these people having been born and reared in slavery, the habits and dispositions of slaves, which formed a part of their character, were not to be speedily overcome.

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The encouragement to discharged soldiers to settle produced the further advantage of augmenting the militia force with disciplined men. But although the assistance which many landholders thus derived was important, yet the extent of the benefit did not come up to expectation. The same cause which occasioned a drain of the slaves from the country to the town, operated, in a majority of cases, with similar effect in regard to the discharged soldiers, to whom employment under a shop-keeper, a publican, or a brewer, was more encouraging than the occupations of husbandry.

The accession of labourers by a revival of the importation of slaves, was a remedy of which

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the very idea, to an unbiassed mind, was abhorrent, even if the law had not happily set that point at rest: but without additional numbers of some description, it was evident that the condition of the lands, far from improving, would not even be stationary, but must become retrograde. The introduction of Chinese labourers was therefore recommended by Governor Patton, and the suggestion was followed by one of the greatest benefits the island ever received since its establishment as a colony. The plan was approved by the Honourable Court of Directors, and by their orders was carried into execution under the succeeding Government.

An advance in the regulated price of beef, from fourpence halfpenny to sixpence halfpenny per pound, sanctioned in 1805 by Governor Patton, has been subsequently condemned, as affording an undue encouragement to grazing, and therefore proportionably injurious to cultivation. Abstractedly considered, the objection may seem well founded; but to come to a fair judgment on this case, it should be viewed in connexion with other circumstances. Let it be remembered that the inhabitants were neither allowed to eat their own beef without permission (which was not unfrequently refused), nor to sell it except at a regulated price;

whilst, on the other hand, the captains of ships were under no restriction in regard to what they had to dispose of in return. The price of beef, as it stood fixed at the above period, bore no proportion to the prices of other products of the island, which were left to find their own level; and beef having become the cheapest fresh meat, was either killed for home consumption, without the leave or knowledge of Government, or privately sold to such captains of ships as had the dexterity to smuggle it on board, paying, of course, an addition on the established rate.

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The advance in the price of cattle was immediately followed by tenders to the amount of eighty additional bullocks, thereby insuring a more equitable distribution to the Company's ships, as far as the means of the island would admit, whilst the temptation to the clandestine slaughtering of cattle was removed; a practice which could not otherwise have been prevented without a more arbitrary and inquisitorial system of police than could with decency be countenanced in a British settlement.

Whilst the various objects already noticed were forwarded by the personal exertions and superintendence of Governor Patton, other points of importance did not escape his atten-

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tion. The establishment of checks, in different departments, were followed with due effects, and approved of by the Honourable Court of Directors. Most of the Company's buildings in James's Town were roofed with a layer of mud spread upon boards;* a species of covering which required a large quantity of solid timber for its support, was liable to continual decay, and the layer of mud very frequently out of repair, and harbouring rats and other vermin. To remedy so defective and expensive a system, the staves of the empty flour and meat casks, which had been heretofore used as fuel, were preserved and converted into shingles: in a roof composed of these materials, very little wood is required for its frame, and its durability is known in America to exceed the period of a century.†

* That a roof, composed of such materials, should be impervious to water, has been frequently the subject of surprise, but perhaps this may be accounted for by the Terra Puzzolana, or the substance called by that name, at St. Helena, which abounds on the island, being intermingled with the earth used for this purpose.

† Experience has since shewn, that shingles made from cask staves do not form so durable a roof as American shingles, probably in consequence of the curved shape of the staves not admitting of such close overlaying and jointing, and therefore more exposed to the effects of the weather.

Shortly after the taking of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1805, by Sir David Baird and Sir Home Popham, the latter sailed from thence, and touched at St. Helena, on an expedition to Buenos Ayres. The seventy-first regiment and a detachment of royal artillery, with the marines of the squadron, and such seamen as could be spared, formed the total amount of the land force primarily embarked on that service ; so that ever so small an accession to their number was of importance. St. Helena, on this, as well as a former occasion, gave its mite, and furnished a reinforcement of two hundred and sixty men, including a company of artillery, and some field ordnance. It is unnecessary to call to the recollection of the reader the fate of that expedition, or the unsuccessful issue of our operations in Spanish America, in the year 1807 ; but we may indulge in a tribute of respect to our gallant little army under General (now Lord) Beresford, which took possession of Buenos Ayres, and afterwards bravely stood its ground against overwhelming numbers, until longer resistance would have been a useless sacrifice of lives. The conduct of the St. Helena detachment, in common with the rest of the force engaged, was highly satisfactory to the distinguished officer who commanded on that occasion.

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The year 1807 will long be remembered by the inhabitants of St. Helena, as the era of a calamity, scarcely less distressing in its consequences than the plague has sometimes proved in other countries.

From the wretched victims composing the cargo of a slave-ship, that had put in at the Cape of Good Hope, the measles had been communicated to that colony, and from thence was brought to St. Helena by a homeward-bound India fleet. No intelligence of the impending danger reached Government until after the ships had anchored. Precautions were then taken to prevent the infection from spreading, but it had already been conveyed on shore in clothes sent to wash. This circumstance however was not generally known, and although, in the course of some days, symptoms of the disorder appeared on one or two persons belonging to the fleet, who in consequence hastened on board again, yet the inhabitants indulged a hope of escaping, until about three weeks had elapsed, when the medical gentlemen declared that two families had taken the infection.

The alarm at first was not so great as might have been expected, when it is considered that

the disorder heretofore had been unknown in the colony, and that the greater part of the inhabitants, including most of the Company's servants civil and military, being natives of the island, few besides the non-commissioned officers and soldiers were exempt from its effects. Before the disorder had spread very generally, and whilst the sick had the benefit of attendance from those who were able to move about, the full extent of the calamity was not felt; but distressing scenes soon followed, and multiplied daily. Whole families, parents, children, and servants, were in many cases suffering at the same moment under the most violent stage of the disease, incapable of affording assistance to each other, and deprived of help from their relatives and neighbours who were reduced to similar circumstances. In a short time there was but one subaltern officer to take the duty of the main guard, no business was transacted at the public offices, many shops were shut, scarcely a mechanic was to be seen at work except carpenters making coffins, and few besides soldiers could be found to carry the dead to their graves.

Within two months the deaths amounted to fifty-eight whites and one hundred and two blacks, and many more died shortly after; but the mor-

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tality would probably have been much greater if a sum had not been raised by subscription, and placed under the management of persons who spared no exertions in carrying into execution the intentions of the subscribers. Proper diet for the sick and convalescent was, by this means, taken to the habitations of those who could not otherwise have derived benefit from the charity, and the lives of many were perhaps thus preserved, who might have perished in their beds for want of nourishment. The effects of the disorder were observed to be much lighter in the country than in James's Town.

An idea has sometimes been suggested that there may be a peculiarity in the climate of St. Helena inimical to the contagiousness of the small-pox, and it is founded on grounds not altogether devoid of plausibility. That disorder once made its appearance on two patients in the hospital, yet the infection, far from spreading, was not even caught by the native black women who then attended as nurses and washed their clothes. The two men were sent to quarantine in a cave by the sea side, called Hicks's Hall, between James's and Lemon Valley, cut off from all intercourse with the rest of the island, except by water, and soon recovered. The eruption was also visible on

one of the recruits who arrived from England in 1796 : the whole party were in consequence sent to Lemon Valley, and remained there in quarantine until the danger of infection was past. These and some other occurrences of a similar nature, together with the reflection that the disease had never prevailed on the island, had lulled the inhabitants into such an idea of security, that some years after they rejected the proffer of the vaccine infection. But the direful consequences of one epidemic disease awakened their apprehensions to what they might expect should they be visited with another, which they regarded in a still more terrifying light ; and it having been understood that the vaccine matter had been introduced at the Cape of Good Hope, numbers became anxious to participate in the benefits of this invaluable discovery.

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In conformity with the general wish, Governor Patton had six healthy boys selected from the drummers of the garrison and sent to the Cape : they were maintained there until an opportunity offered for their return, when one or two of them were inoculated. From these the infection was communicated, on the passage, to the others in succession, and the matter was thus brought to St. Helena without the risk of dis-

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appointment. There is now a medical officer on the establishment who receives a distinct salary as Vaccinating Surgeon.

In the month of July, 1807, Governor Patton signified his intention of proceeding to England, being revisited with symptoms of a disorder which had compelled him, at an earlier period of life, to leave India. The general concern manifested upon this occasion, and the affection with which his memory is still cherished on the island, prove the estimation in which he was held by all classes. His endeavours to improve the morals of the black inhabitants have been noticed in the introductory chapter, and during the whole of his government he evinced a most active solicitude in discharging the various duties of his station. Candour and justice must acknowledge his unceasing mental and personal exertions, rendered valuable and meritorious by their character and importance, by his extensive information and liberal endowments, and by a happy ardour of mind that took an interest in every thing which bore relation to the service and welfare of the public.

Upon his embarkation, Lieutenant-Colonel Lane, the Lieutenant-Governor, succeeded provisionally to the chair, in which situation he

remained twelve months. He was superseded on the 4th July, 1808, by the arrival of Governor Beatson and Lieutenant-Governor Broughton: these two gentlemen, in conjunction with Messrs. W. W. Doveton and Robert Leech, formed the new Government.

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CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE YEAR 1808 TO THE YEAR 1813.

Introduction of Chinese labourers—Extension of cultivation, and reduction of prices—Restriction of prices by authority—Questionable policy of that measure—Issues of provision under prime cost from the Company's stores discontinued—Abolition of the use of spirituous liquors in the Garrison—Mutiny—Firm conduct of Governor Beatson—Goats extirpated, and beneficial consequences of that measure—Revival of the planting law of 1707—Observations on that subject—Economical arrangements of Governor Beatson, and reduction of the expenses of the Island.

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IN pursuance of the orders of the Honourable Court of Directors, adverted to in the preceding chapter, an application was forwarded as soon as possible to the Company's factory at Canton for fifty Chinese labourers, who arrived in May 1810; and their services were found so useful, that one hundred and fifty more were applied for shortly after—Governor Beatson viewing that although the complaint of want of labour would thus be obviated, yet the looked-for augmentation to

the produce of the lands might be still further and most essentially increased by improvements on the practice to which the farmers had heretofore confined their attention. Farmers in all countries, however, have a predilection in favour of old customs, from which it is difficult to withdraw them, until, by ocular demonstration, they see the advantage of deviating from the beaten path. With the two-fold view of affording this demonstration and promoting agriculture to an extent unattainable by the capital of individuals, it was determined that a farm, comparatively on a large scale, should be established by the Company. The discretionary power with which Governor Beatson was invested enabled him to apply the valuable lands of Long Wood to a more profitable use than the raising of fuel; and several fields of from ten to twenty acres each were enclosed and broke up there. Fine crops of oats and barley soon made a beautiful appearance, and the culture of potatoes was shewn to be facilitated and extended by the use of the plough. To conduct these operations, six husbandmen were purposely sent out from England.

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With regard to *grain*, the islanders did not seem to view its acquisition as an object of much importance whilst they could obtain imported corn, and at prices under what they conceived

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would be the likely cost of growing and saving it on their own lands; but they took notice, that at times when the pastures, from drought, were miserably deficient of grass, corn fields, even in a dry part of the island, yielded abundance of excellent fodder for cattle, and that, by the substitution of the plough and harrow for the spade and pickaxe, the culture of potatoes could be materially promoted at a small comparative expense. The example produced the *wish* to follow it, but the *means* were still wanting. What had been effected on the Company's lands required not only the labour of the first fifty Chinese that arrived, but also that of all the soldiers that could be spared from their military duties, a call which still further trenched upon the scanty sources of labour that had previously remained to the inhabitants. Their apparent inactivity was attributed to natural indolence; but the correctness of this conclusion may at least be doubted, from the circumstance, that when the second party of Chinese, amounting to one hundred and fifty, arrived in July, 1811, and enabled the Governor to spare labourers to the farmers, such was the result, that in five months after, the names of thirteen persons were mentioned in a proclamation as "amongst those whose exertions had been conspicuous in producing a beneficial change;" all of whom had

effected that for which they received praise, by means of labour they could not before obtain. The use of the Company's ploughs, ploughmen, and teams, was willingly afforded by the Governor to all who applied for such aid, until they were enabled to supply themselves with those necessary appendages to their farms, and their slaves had acquired the requisite proficiency in their management; and in little less than four years from the arrival of Governor Beatson, cultivation increased from about 90 acres to 180, inclusive of the Company's farm.

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The terms on which the Chinese were engaged, were, a shilling a day for labourers, and one shilling and sixpence for mechanics, besides rations amounting in value to nearly another shilling, and under an implied contract to serve three years. Subsequently the engagement has been extended to five years; but the numbers that depart have been generally more than replaced from amongst the Chinese who had entered as sailors in ships from that country, and who, on leaving England in ships destined to touch at St. Helena, volunteered their services upon the island. By this means, and compliances with further applications from the St. Helena Government, the Chinese establishment at one time amounted to nearly six hundred

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and fifty, but it has since been reduced to four hundred and forty-two, and will now probably be reduced still lower. When individuals require their labour, they are hired to them at specific rates, which depend upon whether the men so hired be labourers or tradesmen. The daily sum paid for the former was two shillings, and for the latter three shillings, the Company still furnishing the ration; but since provisions have become cheaper, the hire for a labourer has been reduced to one shilling and ninepence, and for a mason or carpenter to two shillings and sixpence. Some of the latter are very good workmen, but not so quick as Europeans; neither are the labourers equal to the generality of English husbandmen, but when agreed with for a task, they are found to work tolerably well.

It has been suggested, that the benefits derived from the Chinese would be much greater were they settled upon lots of improvable ground, and encouraged to become fixed colonists, by procuring for them females from some of the Malay islands, or elsewhere, as has been done at Penang. But as it was the want of labourers which had obstructed the improvement of the lands of St. Helena that were already occupied, and as the insufficiency of water on the unoccu-

pied lands presented little encouragement to their being inhabited by new settlers, an accession of *labourers* was more suited to the exigencies of the island than *petty farmers*. No doubt there are spots of waste land whereon it would be desirable to see cottagers established, and there are also proprietors of land who probably would be willing to let portions of their possessions to industrious petty farmers; but if new settlers of this description be wanting, why seek to obtain Chinese rather than British husbandmen, who would augment the militia force of the island? As a stop, however, has lately been put to the perpetuity of slavery at St. Helena, and as a generation of free blacks and people of colour are now growing up, under a system of moral discipline, in well conducted schools, the island is likely ere long to possess a useful and industrious working class of inhabitants, amongst whom there will probably be no want of applicants for ground for cottages.

The extension of cultivation which was effected by the introduction of the Chinese, and the examples exhibited by the Governor on the Company's farms, was followed by a reduction in the price of land produce. Potatoes, for many years before, had not been sold under eight shillings the bushel (56lbs.), except when

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ships were neither at the island nor expected: but although at those times the farmers would part with them to the soldiers at reduced prices, rather than let them spoil, yet when large fleets arrived in quick succession, the price has frequently risen to ten shillings, and even twelve has been known in some instances to have been paid; but by increased culture, the ordinary price to shipping fell so as to fluctuate between six and eight shillings the bushel, the troops were supplied at four shillings if they purchased the potatoes on the ground, and at six shillings if in town, and large quantities of this valuable root were appropriated, on the Company's farms, to the feeding of stock. It is however to be remarked, that the reduction of price made little difference in the *quantities* purchased by shipping, which shews that the supplies to them in the article of potatoes had been previously equal to their wants, unless, perhaps, in the latter part of 1807 and in the years 1808-9 and 1810, when the soldiers could not be spared to work for individuals, and before there were Chinese sufficient to assist the farmers. The following is an abstract from the official returns of produce supplied to ships, from the commencement of Colonel Patton's government to the termination of Governor Beatson's:—

Years.	Bushels of Potatoes.	CHAP. IX. From 1808 to 1813.
1802, ending 31st December.....	5,946	
1803, ditto.....ditto	6,012	
1804, ditto.....ditto	7,024	
1805, to 30th Sept. (nine months)...	5,590	
1806, from 1st Oct. 1805 to 30th Sept. 1806.....	7,370	
1807, not ascertained.		
1808-9, from 1st April 1808 to 31st March 1809.....	4,310	
1809, to 30th Sept. (six months) ...	2,868	
1810, ending 30th Sept.....	4,970*	

* In the 64th page of the introductory chapter to Major General Beatson's Tracts, through some mistake (of course unintentional), he has inserted the exports from 31st March to 30th September in 1810, as the exports for the *year* in place of *six months*; thus, 3,288 bushels of potatoes are inserted instead of 4,970. In the same place it is stated, that the price of potatoes in 1810 was from ten to twelve shillings a bushel. That twelve shillings has in some instances been paid, and that even more has been offered, and in vain too, at times when the article was not to be had, is very true; but if private account-books (including those of agents employed by the farmers to sell their produce) be admissible as evidence in this case, it is clearly proved that the *ordinary* price in 1810, and several years previously, fluctuated from eight to ten shillings, and not from ten to twelve. In the 63d page of the Tracts it is also said, that "the commanders of ships could not purchase refreshments for the seamen at the rates which were extorted; accordingly they took no
" more

CHAP. IX.	Years.	Bushels of Potatoes.
From 1808 to 1813.	1811, ending 30th September	6,604
	1812, ditto.....ditto.....	5,206
	1813, ditto.....ditto.....	7,742

“ more than what they required for themselves and passengers.” But the account-books above-mentioned, and also the official diaries of the Register Master, prove that it was usual in 1810, as well as in preceding years, for the Company’s ships to take off from eighty to one hundred and twenty and one hundred and forty bushels each; a quantity that surely could not have been intended merely for the captain’s table, particularly in China ships, where there are seldom many passengers.

The following extract from Barnes’s Tour, page 165, may serve to explain some other points upon which an erroneous opinion seems to have been formed:—

“ The prices demanded for the produce of the farms are, “ it must be confessed, high to the inhabitants; but whether “ they are so to the shipping is not, perhaps, quite so evident. “ Whatever articles of merchandize, under the description of “ private trade, as it is usually termed, are brought for the “ St. Helena market, the prime cost, package, wharfage, “ freight, with many other incidental expenses, adding upon “ the whole, by way of profit, the moderate sum of from “ £50 to £75 per cent., enhance the charge for them most “ exorbitantly. If then the farmer must buy dear, it is not “ to be expected he can afford to sell cheap.

“ An assertion, vide page 64 of the introductory chapter “ of Major-General Beatson’s book, seems however to require

As in 1811 it rarely happened that more than eight shillings a bushel was demanded for pota-

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“ quire some explanation : as the following are the facts of
“ the case, no apology is made for introducing them :—

“ The farmers are accused by the Major-General of ‘so
“ ‘ determined a spirit of combination to keep up the prices,
“ ‘ that rather than lower potatoes from ten or twelve shil-
“ ‘ lings per bushel, and rather than feed slaves and servants,
“ ‘ and far less live stock, with so valuable a commodity, the
“ ‘ crops were actually suffered to rot at the farms, and
“ ‘ many cart-loads were thrown into the sea.’ ”

“ That an individual was known to leave his crop in the
“ ground, and that another individual did throw some cart-
“ loads into the sea, is not denied ; but both these circum-
“ stances are placed, probably from misapprehension, in an
“ erroneous point of view. With regard to the first instance,
“ there was a superabundance of potatoes in the market, and
“ no likelihood of a speedy demand ; the proprietor, therefore,
“ deemed it more for his interest to save the expense of dig-
“ ging the crop, carting it to town, and planting a succeeding
“ crop, rather than sell it at a rate which would not pay him
“ for the three operations, or of throwing the potatoes to
“ his hogs and cattle, at a time when plenty of other food ren-
“ dered such a measure unnecessary.

“ In the other instance, until some grounds for a contrary
“ supposition shall appear, it is charitable to believe, that had
“ the proprietor foreseen the rotting of his potatoes within the
“ period he expected, he would have sold them at a reduced
“ price, rather than have incurred a total loss. That this
“ mistake in his calculation was the sole motive for his having
“ thrown

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toes, it would seem hardly necessary in the December of that year to issue a prohibition against their being sold at a higher rate. The question is, not whether that price afforded an ample or an insufficient profit, but it is whether the *principle* be correct or otherwise. The reasons adduced by General Beatson, in justification of restricting prices by authority, are, that “ the “ theory of markets finding their own level can “ never be applied to St. Helena : the markets “ there are always deranged by the arrival of “ fleets. To these *alone* the islanders look for a “ sale of their products, and from the captains “ and passengers they demand whatever price “ they choose ; nothing can prevent exorbitant “ prices being demanded but the interposition “ of Government. If the prices were regulated, “ and kept within moderate bounds, a greater “ degree of industry would be excited, and a “ greater quantity raised.” If this opinion be correct, the general principles of political economy must indeed be very inapplicable to St. Helena. A large proportion of the potatoes furnished to shipping were commonly disposed of in barter for grain and other articles : upon

“ thrown them into the sea, is by no means improbable ; be- “ cause a similar fact occurred with regard to the potatoes “ from the Honourable Company’s farm in 1812, when those “ lands were under the controul of a liberal and enlightened “ manager, Major-General Beatson himself.”

these there was no restriction of price, and consequently the two parties in the transaction were placed on unequal terms; a circumstance which, upon a former occasion, had been adduced by Governor Brooke as one of his objections against an interference with prices, and which was noticed by the Court of Directors, in the following words: “ We perfectly accord with the Governor in the justice of his remark, that the value of the commodity should be in proportion to its demand. We likewise coincide with him in opinion, that it would be unjust to compel the planter to dispose of his produce to the shipping at a restricted rate, when no restriction of price is or can be fixed on the articles he should purchase, for in doing this we might possibly check that spirit of exertion we have been so anxiously desirous of animating them with.”

The issue to the inhabitants of imported food from the Company's stores, at prices under what it cost, and in unlimited quantities, was a practice which probably contributed to the bias in favour of mercantile pursuits, rather than those of husbandry, as already mentioned. The history of this system is as follows:

In the year 1758, the civil and military offi-

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cers were allowed to participate in an advantage previously enjoyed by the soldiers, of purchasing salt meat at two shillings the piece, or about threepence halfpenny per pound, the invoice price of which was then from fourpence to fivepence per pound : other stores were issued to them at ten per cent. advance, whilst the inhabitants were charged forty per cent., except for cloathing, an article they received at twenty-five per cent. advance. In the year 1772, the Court of Directors desired that “in future “ their goods and stores should be delivered to “ all persons, inhabitants of the island, as well servants of the Company as others, at the rate of “ ten per cent. advance upon the invoice.” The article of *salt meat* is not here specifically named, but if silence on this point was deemed sufficient to justify a continuance of the indulgence to the civil and military officers, of receiving it at a discount, it did not necessarily follow, that a general extension of the same indulgence was implied in an order which merely directed “ goods “ and stores ” to be delivered to “ all persons ” at ten per cent. advance. Be this as it may, from the year 1772, salt provisions were sold to all descriptions of persons at two shillings the piece, until the year 1787, when a trifling addition to the price was made, raising it to fourpence per pound, except to the non-commission-

ed officers and private soldiers, who continued to receive it at the former rate. Rice and paddy were also imported in progressively increasing quantities, and issued to the inhabitants at prices which did not cover the cost and charges.

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It is difficult to account for the toleration of this system,* unless by supposing it was meant

* Major General Beatson, in a printed letter to the Honourable Court of Directors, states, that the Company were “imposed on by the fallacy of their accounts, which led them “to believe they were gainers, instead of losers by the sale “of provisions;” an assertion which derives plausibility from the circumstance of no separate head having been opened in the books for the entry of articles sold *under prime cost*. But it is to be observed, that in those books, under the head of profit and loss, was invariably exhibited the “loss upon “beef and pork,” as well as on flour and other articles, whenever loss accrued. The accounts were regularly transmitted to the India House, and the Court of Directors’ frequent comments upon them, which appear in the correspondence, fully prove that they were not slightly scrutinized. “*The great loss sustained by salt provisions*” are the words used in a letter from Governor Skottowe, 20th May 1778; and in the year 1793, Governor Brooke sent home a statement, in which he adverted to “salt meat, from indulgence, being “sold at less than what it is purchased for in Europe; the “expenses of tonnage, landing of goods, interest of money, “store-houses expenses, &c., are not charged.” It seems therefore unlikely that the Company were *imposed upon, and led to believe that they were gainers by the sale of provisions.*

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as a sort of compensation to the inhabitants for the restrictions against killing their cattle for their own use, with the view of ensuring a larger supply to the Company's shipping; but as this object was secured prior to Governor Beatson's arrival, by a rise in the established price of fresh beef, which diminished the temptation to use it for home consumption, there remained no pretence whatever for continuing the practice. The subject having been represented at home, a progressive annual rise was ordered, until the price should cover the expense of importation.* Governor Beatson was the more adverse to the system from his opinion of its operating as a check to drawing forth the resources of the soil; and certainly, on general principles, it was natural to infer, that whilst food of island produce was undersold by imported food, the lands were likely to be neglected. But it is another question, whether it be possible (except by an arbitrary act of authority) to prevent island provisions being undersold by imported food, so long as the quantity of the former is inadequate to the two-fold object of

* The price of salt provision, in the Company's stores, was raised, between the years 1810 and 1813, from fourpence to thirteen pence per pound; flour, from twopence half-penny to fivepence per pound; and rice, from a penny farthing to twopence farthing per pound.

feeding the population and meeting the demands of shipping. One class of purchasers (the inhabitants) desire *cheap* food, whilst *fresh provisions* is the exclusive object of the shipping; and the latter, to attain it, must proffer higher prices than what imported food can be purchased for by the inhabitants. The discontinuance of the issues of salt meat and rice from the Company's stores under prime cost, though it considerably enhanced the prices of those articles, yet mercantile speculation on the one hand, and the demands of shipping on the other, still kept the price of imported food below that of island produce; and such probably will continue to be the case, until the island may be enabled to feed its population besides supplying the wants of shipping. These considerations, however, do not detract from the correctness and expediency of abolishing a system which occasioned a great and a very unreasonable loss to the Company: but certainly at a juncture when the prices of what the farmer had to *purchase* were raised, it was hardly fair to impose restrictions on the prices of what he had to *sell*.

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It was not to be expected that the enhancement in the price of food should be a popular measure, however well founded in equity and reason. The prospect of eventual good in ex-

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citement to draw forth the resources of the soil, was an argument of little weight with those who felt the *immediate* effects of the new system ; nor were they disposed to admit the reasonableness of discontinuing an indulgence which, from its length of standing, had come to be considered (by those in the Company's service) as forming part of their allowed emoluments. A memorial, addressed to the Honourable Court of Directors, on this subject, signed (with only four exceptions) by every civil servant and military officer, was presented to the Governor and Council for transmission to England. There was certainly high colouring in some of the statements: the purport was to obtain a reduction of prices to the old standard. This was not complied with, and the rejection was accompanied by the removal from office of some of the subscribers, whose signatures were deemed specially objectionable.

Discontents, however, of a more serious nature were engendering in another quarter under various pretexts, but the real cause was the abolition of the use of spirituous liquors in the garrison. The mischievous effects of the excessive use of this article had long been a subject of complaint, but the total removal of the evil had been regarded by some of the predecessors of Governor Beatson as an object more wished than to be

hoped for ; an opinion which derived strength from the recollection of the mutiny which followed the restrictive regulations of Governor Corneille. Expedients to circumscribe the extent of the mischief had at various times, and with partial success, been adopted, but it is to the resolution and firmness of Governor Beatson that the island is indebted for a radical cure.

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One brewery had already been established on the island ; and the Cape of Good Hope afforded the means of obtaining cheap wines, so that there was no want of substitutes for spirits. At the recommendation of Governor Beatson, the Court of Directors sent orders to Bengal to discontinue the further consignment of rum to St. Helena : rations of Cape wine were issued to the troops at the rate of sixpence per pint, and they had liberty to indulge as they pleased in the use of wholesome beer at sevenpence per quart : the licence to the publicans for retailing spirits was withdrawn, and they were encouraged to form themselves into another brewery company, by a pledge that they should be allowed to import in the Company's ships malt and hops, and all other necessary materials, freight free, for a period of two years. The landing of the higher priced spirits, the produce of Europe or the West Indies, was sanctioned only in limited quan-

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tities, and paying a duty of twelve shillings per gallon ; but the importation of India spirits, on account of their cheapness, was prohibited, in any way, or under any pretence whatever.

Whilst these measures were in process, the Governor was assailed with reports of intended mutinies, which were sometimes conveyed in anonymous papers ; but, conscious of the uprightness of his motives, he totally disregarded them. At length disappointment in expected supplies of rice from Bengal, combined with a reduced stock of flour in the public stores, presented an occurrence for complaint which was eagerly laid hold of, and became a plea for unfounded demands, accompanied with menaces of mutiny and rebellion.

On the 23d December, 1811, the Governor produced to the Council an anonymous letter which had fallen into his hands, demanding, on the part of the troops, full rations of spirits, and threatening serious consequences in the event of non-compliance. Upon the same day the Town-Major gave information that the regiment of infantry was prepared to mutiny, for the avowed purpose of seizing the Governor's person, and sending him away in the Camperdown (a Company's cutter employed on the

St. Helena station), some of whose crew, it afterwards appeared, were well acquainted with the conspiracy. The Camperdown was then the only vessel in the roads. Governor Beatson lost no time in preparing for the worst; the cutter was instantly sent to sea, the forts of Ladder Hill and High Knoll reinforced with such men as it was believed could be depended on, and he commenced on the necessary arrangements for taking post at his country-house, which he was determined to defend in person against any attacks that might be made against him.* It was also settled, that, upon the smallest appearance of tumult, the officer at Ladder Hill should fire the general alarm, which would assemble the volunteers (or island militia) at their usual rendezvous, close to the Plantation House. The circumstances which followed are thus stated by Governor Beatson, in his report to the Court of Directors :

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“ After issuing these orders I left the castle,
“ at four in the afternoon ; but, contrary to my
“ usual custom of returning home by what is
“ called the Governor’s Path, I thought it pro-

* It having been proposed to the Governor that he should take post in High Knoll rather than the Plantation House, his reply was, “ Do you think I will leave my house to be
“ plundered by those rascals ? ”

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“ per to shew to such as might be watchful,
“ that the violent anonymous paper, the writing
“ on the church, ‘ *a hot dinner and a bloody*
“ ‘ *supper,*’ and that on the castle gate, ‘ *this*
“ ‘ *house to be let on Christmas Day,*’ (the one
“ alluding to the festival dinner, and the other
“ to my vacating the castle by being sent off
“ the island), had produced no apprehensions
“ in my mind: I therefore desired my horses
“ to be brought to the castle gate, where I
“ mounted, passed slowly in front of the main
“ guard, who were supposed to be concerned
“ in the intended mutiny, and I proceeded
“ gently through the town, stopping occasion-
“ ally, and conversing with several people I
“ met. It seems that one of the most forward
“ in the mutiny (Berwick, who has since been
“ hanged) passed close to me. I did not
“ observe him, but he was seen from a window,
“ after I had proceeded a few yards beyond
“ him, to turn round, and in the most con-
“ temptuous manner, by his looks and the
“ motions of his clenched fist and arm, fully
“ to express his desperate intentions. This in-
“ formation did not reach me until after he
“ was hanged.

“ About five o’clock in the evening I arrived
“ at Plantation House. I sent for Mr. Ford,

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“ the head overseer, to enquire regarding the
“ characters and dispositions of the artillery
“ and infantry stationed there as a working
“ party. He assured me they were all good
“ men, and that I might depend on them.
“ Lieutenant David Pritchard, whom I had
“ selected to take charge of this guard ,soon
“ after arrived. I desired him to inspect their
“ arms, and to get the men immediately ac-
“ coutred. I had previously ordered supplies
“ of musket and rifle ammunition to be sent,
“ which arrived before sunset.

“ The men of the guard, consisting of thirty-
“ two, were then ordered into Plantation House;
“ and as Captain Benjamin Hodson had been
“ instructed to fire a general alarm upon the
“ first appearance of commotion (which would
“ soon bring the volunteers to my post), I was
“ certain, therefore, of being reinforced long
“ before the mutineers could reach me; and
“ under these circumstances I had no doubt as
“ to the issue, being firmly determined not to
“ yield a single point, nor to suffer my person
“ to fall into their hands.

“ According to information I have since
“ received, the mutiny was not to have broken
“ out until the morning of the 25th. It had

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“ been settled by the mutineers, that when the
“ troops paraded for relieving the guards, that
“ the whole of the regiment, joined by the
“ main guard on duty, after seizing their officers,
“ should march to Plantation House and seize
“ me : but, most providentially, the measures
“ I had adopted made a change in their plan ;
“ and the ringleaders, seeing I was preparing,
“ considered that no time should be lost, and
“ therefore they commenced their operations
“ within five hours after I had left the castle.

“ At half-past seven o'clock, I received a
“ report that the mutinous troops intended to
“ proceed to Long Wood, for the purpose of
“ getting possession of some field-pieces and
“ ammunition. Upon hearing this, although I
“ did not know how far it might be depended
“ on, I sent an express to the Lieutenant-Governor,
“ in which I suggested the advance of
“ some field-pieces to oppose the mutineers if
“ they should move in that direction.”

It was three quarters past nine at night when about two hundred and fifty men rushed out of the barracks, in defiance of the efforts of their officers to restrain them, and proceeded down the street, where they were joined by the main guard; they then broke into the laboratory,

and after seizing some ammunition, marched in a disorderly manner upon the road towards Long Wood. Their numbers, however, had become considerably reduced; many had been intimidated to make a shew of joining the mutiny, but gladly deserted the cause as soon as they could do so with safety to themselves, so that the body of mutineers proceeding to Long Wood did not exceed one hundred and twenty. Upon gaining the heights near the Alarm-House, they fired a preconcerted signal for the men at the eastern outposts to join them, but without the expected effect. Shortly after they were overtaken by Major Wright, who had followed them on horseback: he rode in amongst them, and endeavoured to bring them to a sense of their duty. His remonstrances seemed to be producing some effect, when his voice was suddenly drowned in a cry of "don't listen to him," "come on," and similar expressions; and observing signs of an inclination to secure his person, he cleared himself from those immediately surrounding him, and quitted the party, not however before he had drawn off some stragglers in the rear, whom he took with him across the country to Plantation House. The mutineers continued their march to Long Wood, where the Lieutenant-Governor had been preparing to oppose them; but at the moment the

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advanced gun was loading, the mutineers surrounded him and his party, and took them prisoners.* He was informed that “ they did not mean to do him or any other person the smallest injury ; all they wanted was the Governor’s person, whom they would take and send on board the *Camperdown*,” and that Colonel Broughton should be their Governor, and go along with them to Plantation House.

In the meanwhile, through the address of Mr. Hall, conductor of artillery, all the guns were spiked except one three-pounder, with which, notwithstanding every remonstrance of Colonel Broughton, they marched on the road towards Plantation House, placing the Colonel in their centre under the custody of one of the ringleaders.

Scarcely a minute had elapsed after the mutineers had broke out of barracks, when the signal for a general alarm was fired : this immediately put the volunteers, or island militia, in motion, and very soon the Plantation House became garrisoned with a force of one hundred

* In this transaction the treachery of an artillery serjeant (*Lascalles*) was afterwards so evident, that he received five hundred lashes by the sentence of a court-martial.

and thirty men, including the guard stationed there as a working party. The remainder of the volunteers, as fast as they arrived, were posted with field-pieces to defend the road on the Long Wood side. This position was shortly after strengthened, and other passes occupied by parties of regulars from town, amongst whom were several who had been brought back to a sense of their duty by the exertions of their officers. About one or two o'clock in the morning, the Governor received intelligence, by a black messenger, that Colonel Broughton and his party were taken prisoners.

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Governor Beatson, in his report, states, “This
“ information gave me at first some uneasiness,
“ on account of the danger to which my friend
“ and colleague would be exposed in the intend-
“ ed attack upon the mutinous troops: but
“ there was no alternative, for however much I
“ value the life of Colonel Broughton, I could
“ not permit considerations of a private nature
“ to interfere with my public duties, nor to de-
“ ter me from carrying into execution the plans
“ I had formed, which were imperiously ne-
“ cessary for restoring military subordination
“ and the peace and order of this settlement.

“ At the same time, I considered it proper

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“ to make an attempt to rescue his person from
“ the impending danger. I therefore wrote a
“ pencil note to Captain Sampson, directing
“ him to advance with thirty chosen men; and
“ with these it was intended to form an ambus-
“ cade on the left flank of the mutinous column,
“ and to commence the attack by giving them
“ one fire in such a manner as to avoid Colonel
“ Broughton (who might be distinctly seen by
“ the two lights which the mutineers had im-
“ prudently with them), and immediately after
“ to rush upon them with the bayonet.

“ I had just given these orders, when Major
“ Wright arrived, and informed me that the mu-
“ tineers had halted within fifty or sixty yards
“ of Major Kinnaird’s post, and had sent for-
“ ward to offer the conditions on which they
“ would surrender. The negotiations were in-
“ tentionally protracted until daylight on the
“ 24th, which having terminated in the uncon-
“ ditional surrender of the whole party, the
“ attempt to rescue Colonel Broughton became
“ unnecessary.

“ The first proposals sent to me by the muti-
“ neers were, ‘ that grievances must be redress-
“ ‘ ed, and a promise given, that the soldiers
“ ‘ should have regular issues of spirits from

“ ‘ the stores:’ to which I sent word by Major
“ Wright, ‘that I would grant no terms; I
“ ‘ could not treat with rebels, and that if they
“ ‘ did not instantly surrender, I would put
“ ‘ every man to the sword.’

“ Major Wright soon after returned, and
“ told me the mutineers hoped I would grant
“ terms: and it was suggested by some persons
“ around me, that the life of Colonel Brough-
“ ton would be in great danger if the attack
“ were made. To this suggestion I replied, that
“ the mutineers having possession of the Lieu-
“ tenant-Governor would be no security to
“ themselves; and I returned them a second
“ message, apprising them of this resolution,
“ and that I would instantly order them to
“ be fired upon, and the whole destroyed, if
“ they did not submit. Upon receiving this
“ reply, they began to waver; and they finally
“ proposed to Majors Wright and Hodson, that
“ all they would now ask was my promise of
“ pardon: but this I positively refused; and,
“ at the same time, informed them, if they did
“ not yield unconditionally, that Major Kinnaird
“ had now received my orders to put the whole
“ of them to death. It was now daylight, and
“ seeing a superior force opposed to them, they

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“ at length surrendered, saying they would
“ trust to my mercy.

“ Of above two hundred men that sallied at
“ night from James’s Town, upon this mad
“ and desperate enterprise, only seventy-five
“ remained together in the morning.”

The prisoners were put in close confinement at High Knoll, and it was imagined the mutiny was quelled ; but information was received that an attempt to rescue the prisoners was in contemplation : positions were therefore occupied which commanded the barracks and roads leading from thence ; it was also notified in orders, that the main guard was not to fall in under arms without the sanction of the officer commanding at Ladder Hill, on pain of being fired upon with grape. The following day (the 25th) a court-martial assembled at High Knoll for the trial of nine of the ringleaders, upon all of whom sentence of death was passed : six of the most guilty were forthwith hung on a temporary gallows at High Knoll. This not having been effected until very late in the evening, was not immediately known in James’s Town ; but the following morning it was notified in general orders, wherein the Governor warned the disaf-

fect of the absurdity of persisting in their views, and assured them that any further attempt would be followed by their being put to death.

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The general court-martial, which sat on the 25th, re-assembled on the 26th, when three more were capitally convicted. The awful examples, however, which had already been made, had subdued the spirit of mutiny, and only one more execution was deemed necessary. This was conducted with great solemnity. The whole of the garrison were drawn up on the lower parade in town, the prisoners led along the front, the dead march was played, and immediately after the culprit was turned off. The Town-Major read to the troops an impressive lesson, in the form of a general order, to which the parole *peace* was prefixed.

Although subordination was effectually restored, yet, to prevent a return of such disgraceful and dangerous proceedings, orders were given to seize and confine every man who had been particularly active in the mutiny; and between twenty and thirty men were taken into custody. The worst characters were retained in durance until an opportunity offered to remove them from the island; and to the remain-

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der of the prisoners an amnesty was granted on the 30th December, when, after being admonished, they were ordered to return to their duty.

In the general orders of the 1st January, the the Governor observed, that “ although the
“ utmost efforts of the officers were insufficient
“ to restrain the outrageous conduct of the sol-
“ diers within the town, yet to their continued
“ efforts, to their zeal in the cause of Govern-
“ ment, and their respect for its authority, are
“ justly to be ascribed the surrender of the
“ mutineers, the return of military subordina-
“ tion, and the maintenance and preservation
“ of the constituted authorities of the island.” The Governor’s thanks were then expressed
“ to the officers of St. Helena; to the corps of
“ artillery, who almost to a man escaped the
“ contagion; to the St. Helena volunteers, for
“ their loyalty, alacrity, and their eagerness to
“ do their duty; to the portion of the infantry
“ who remained firm to Government;” and to those officers and individuals by name whose meritorious conduct had been particularly conspicuous. It is deserving of notice that only *one* serjeant was concerned in the mutiny, and that on this occasion, as well as the alarming one of a similar nature, that occurred in 1783,

the blacks, to a man, were steady on the side of loyalty.

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Amongst the effects of the total abolition of cheap spirits, and restrictions and duties on the importation of those of a higher price, the following is worthy of notice : “ The houses for
“ retailing spirits were abolished on the 15th
“ May, 1809. The garrison at that time consisted of about one thousand two hundred and
“ fifty men ; of whom one hundred and thirty-
“ two were sick in hospital. Four months after
“ that abolition, the patients were reduced to
“ forty-eight.”*

An impediment, of no small discouragement to improvers, had long existed in the unrestricted manner in which goats and sheep were suffered to range over the whole face of the island. The flocks of the different proprietors were intermixed, distinguished only by marks in the ears ; they were neither tended by day, nor confined at night, nor ever collected in any way, except on stated days agreed upon by the several owners, when they were driven into pounds, erected on the waste lands. It is difficult to conceive the mis-

* Major General Beatson's Tracts on St. Helena, introductory chapter, page lxxvi.

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chief on these *pounding-days*, which attended the collection of the sheep. Of perhaps a dozen or more proprietors, each sent one man *at least*; and it seldom happened that fewer than from fifteen to twenty men were occupied the greater part of the day in searching within a circuit of several miles, for the straggling portions of such of the flocks as could be found without much trouble; and thus hundreds of sheep were driven from all directions towards the pound, without mercy to fences, plantations, or cultivation. No person knew the number in his flock; he could only tell how many were in the pound the last *pounding-day*; and depredations were committed by thieves and dogs, without the sufferers being aware of their losses, unless by chance, when the heads of the animals were found, and the marks in the ears were visible. The nocturnal trespassing of the sheep there were no means of preventing, unfolded as they were; and although the goats were not equally injurious by night, yet their forbearance, in that respect, was amply counterbalanced by their numerous depredations by day.

Governor Beatson proposed that the goats should, within a limited time, be destroyed, the Company purchasing the rights in the goat-ranges, and that no sheep should be kept, except

such as were tended by day and confined at night. These proposals having been laid before a meeting of the landholders, the propriety of restrictive measures was generally admitted, but the question as to the total extirpation of the goats was rejected by a majority of thirty-two to fourteen, each party stating their arguments in writing. Those of the minority were justly deemed as the best founded, by the Court of Directors, to whose decision the matter was referred; and, until their determination was made known, it was declared lawful to shoot all goats seen trespassing. This partial remedy to the evil, combined with anticipations of the probable decision of the Court, encouraged several persons to commence plantations of forest-trees, for which the requisite plants were provided in a nursery at Plantation House; but such was the increasing demand, that a great extension of the nurseries was very soon required. So obvious are the beneficial effects of the extermination of the goats, and making the owners of the sheep liable to suffer for their trespass, instead of throwing the whole loss upon the unfortunate persons whose lands were trespassed upon, that few, if any, of the landholders would now be disposed to question the propriety of those measures.—The rights in the goat-ranges were purchased by the Com-

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pany for the sum of one thousand six hundred and sixty-four pounds.

It was evident that the labour, which had been placed within reach of the inhabitants, was operating to the improvement of their lands, as far as their respective means in capital would admit; and that the example of the Governor, on the Company's farms, had given a beneficial direction to those means. What had been already effected, and what was in progress, afforded a fair prospect of further advancement: it was therefore not necessary, by way of additional stimulus, to resort to coercion, in a revival of the planting law of 1709, but so modified as to render it optional with the landholders, either to plant or to cultivate the prescribed proportion (one acre in ten) of all their free and lease lands. Three years were allowed for a progressive compliance with the law, and *forfeiture* was the ultimate punishment annexed to a wilful and pertinacious breach of it.

The planting law of 1709 was passed with the concurrence of the inhabitants, *upon condition* that they were to enjoy the use of the great wood and common (now called Long Wood and Dead Wood). Neither of the parties to this

agreement had adhered to its terms ; for whilst the landholders failed to maintain trees on the prescribed tenth of their grounds, the Government, about the year 1724, had deprived itself of the right to enforce the penalties, by having commenced enclosing Long Wood for the exclusive use of the Company, and by subsequently letting Dead Wood on lease ; so that the law could not legally be applied to the free lands.

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In respect to leases, doubtless a landlord has a right to refuse the occupancy of the soil, except upon such conditions (be they politic, or otherwise) as he may choose to dictate. But, be it remembered, that a pledge was given by the Government, in 1805, and ratified by the Company, in which all tenants, who planted sixty trees for every ten acres, were declared to be entitled, as a matter of right, to have their leases renewed on the same terms, provided the other clauses were also adhered to.—Acts calculated to shake the security of tenure, and which border on breach of faith, are not such as are most likely to promote real benefit ; and they would have probably as little tendency to effect permanently an increase of produce, as restrictions upon the price of that produce.—It was moreover impolitic to publish a threat, which Government had it not in its power to execute ; for were a

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jury to be found so ignorant as to deprive a man of lands held in fee-simple, under colour of an obsolete law,—a law declared by preceding Governors as impossible to be fulfilled,—a law which had been cancelled nearly a century back (inasmuch as the Government had commenced the enclosing of Long Wood); the Court of Directors, upon the principle they have ever acted towards St. Helena, would infallibly have ordered the restoration of the property, with ample compensation for the injustice.

Although the author ventures to differ in opinion from General Beatson on these points, yet, still following to the best of his conviction the dictates of truth and justice, he with pleasure states his firm belief, that in other respects some of the leading measures already noticed of that firm and persevering Governor, have essentially assisted in laying a foundation for the solid benefit of the island. His systematic arrangements also, and his unwearied personal exertions to establish due method and economy in every branch of the service, could not be surpassed, and probably were never equalled, by any of his predecessors. The effect of his attention, in these points, was a great reduction in the annual expenses; and, at the same time that the public money was economized, sundry

buildings and works were constructed during the administration of Governor Beatson, to the amount of thirteen thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven pounds.

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In closing the account of these meritorious services, the author cannot pass over in silence a series of experiments in agriculture and planting, indefatigably pursued by Governor Beatson, and regularly published on the island, in a periodical work called "*The St. Helena Register.*" A selection of the most valuable of these notices comprise a large portion of *General Beatson's Tracts on St. Helena.* They constitute a mass of useful information, adapted to the localities of the place they were intended to benefit.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE YEAR 1813 TO THE YEAR 1823.

Arrival of Governor Wilks—Planting Law declared null—Opinions of Governor Wilks upon the tenures—Napolcon Buonaparte arrives at St. Helena—Office of Lieutenant-Governor abolished—Sir Hudson Lowe appointed Governor—Effects of the arrival of new residents—Measures for the progressive abolition of Slavery—Decease of Buonaparte—Sir Hudson Lowe embarks for England—Arrangements for a provisional Government—Mr. Brooke Acting Governor—Abolition of Restrictions on prices of land produce—Arrival of Governor Walker—Formation of an Agricultural and Horticultural Society—Conclusion.

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ALTHOUGH it was the wish of his employers that Governor Beatson should prolong his services, he could not be prevailed on to remain more than five years, and as Lieutenant-Governor Broughton had also intimated his desire to resign, Colonel Mark Wilks, an officer of the Madras establishment (at that time residing in England), received from the Court of Directors an offer of the Government, which he accepted, and arriving at St. Helena on the 22d June,

1813, disembarked the following morning. On the same day, Colonel J. Skelton landed as successor to Lieutenant-Governor Broughton, who had sailed for England three weeks before. It was provided that Governor Beatson should not resign for two months after the arrival of his successor, in the event of his remaining on the island for so long a period; but as he did not take his passage until nearly three months had elapsed, he was enabled to afford Colonel Wilks all the information which resulted from his own experience.

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It was their united opinion, that there was still an insufficiency of labour on the island for the purposes of general improvement, and an application was immediately forwarded for one hundred and fifty additional Chinese to the Company's factory in that country.

The discontinuance of the system of feeding a population on imported food at discount prices, the importance of an extension of agriculture, the expediency of rigidly enforcing the regulations in respect to goats and sheep, the prohibition of cheap spirits, and the duty upon those of a higher price, were points on all of which the new Governor concurred with his predecessor.

In regard to the tenures of St. Helena, when

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Governor Wilks first contemplated their policy, he concluded that local circumstances had demonstrated its expediency, and he was reluctant to oppose theory to what he had looked upon as the result of observation and experience. The investigation indeed of a representation submitted to him, at a very early period of his government, on the subject of the free lands, proved to him that any attempts to enforce the penalties of the planting law would be illegal ; and upon this ground the free lands were immediately declared exempt from that regulation. Here he was actuated by what he considered mere *justice* ; but further attention to the subject revived and strengthened former doubts ; and, after two years' residence, he was confirmed in his opinion, that legislative interference with interior management, and a penal system, involving insecurity of tenure, were no more calculated to promote the prosperity of St. Helena than of other countries.

Under this impression, he conceived it his duty to submit to the Honourable Court of Directors a very full statement of his sentiments, wherein he took occasion to observe, “ that the
“ lights of modern investigation seem to have
“ demonstrated that the melioration of tenures,
“ and the removal of restrictions, constitute in
“ themselves the best, if not the only certain

“ means of improvement : and if this truth has
 “ been slow of development in other parts of
 “ the world, an opposite practice at St. Helena
 “ cannot justly excite our surprise.” “ He had
 “ found nothing, either in local circumstances,
 “ or in personal character, that could, in his hum-
 “ ble judgment, render necessary a departure
 “ from those principles which apply to other
 “ places, and to the rest of mankind;” and he
 further remarked, that “ when penal obligations
 “ were such, that in a long series of years, and
 “ under the guidance of various shades of per-
 “ sonal character in Directors and Governors,
 “ those penalties have never been enforced, a
 “ suspicion might well have arisen, that there
 “ was something inexpedient or unreasonable in
 “ the conditions themselves.”—“ Improvement
 “ is and has been fatally retarded, by holding up,
 “ *in terrorem*, the insecurity of possession, and
 “ can only be effectually promoted and secured
 “ by reverting to the wise principles of the
 “ *original tenures*, by the removal of all re-
 “ strictions that interfere with interior manage-
 “ ment, and by converting a precarious posses-
 “ sion into a fixed and permanent right, irrevoc-
 “ cable for any but public purposes, and that
 “ by a sworn appraisement.”*

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* For the whole of Governor Wilks's admirable letter on this subject, see Appendix, K.

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In confirmation of this opinion, it is to be observed, that improvement had been at all times chiefly confined to freehold possessions, and those on leases for three lives, renewable ; whilst very few lands let for the term of twenty-one years shewed marks of expenditure of capital, unless in the old fences of such as had been originally free-grants, but forfeited after the rebellion in 1684.

Although the final decision of the Honourable Court of Directors, upon the above letter, has not yet arrived at the island, it is supposed, however, that the general sentiments of the Court upon the subject are very much in unison with those of Colonel Wilks. A prevailing impression of this kind has dissipated the apprehensions which had been excited by the threats of fines and forfeitures, promulgated in 1813 ; and whatever may have caused delay, in arranging the details of a contemplated change, such is the confidence in the liberal views of the Company towards St. Helena, that the landholders feel satisfied, that if Colonel Wilks's suggestions be not in every particular carried into effect, the enlightened spirit in which they were dictated will, at all events, pervade whatever regulations the Court may adopt on the occasion.

Most of those whose grounds were adapted to agriculture, and whose pecuniary resources had enabled them to complete new enclosures and break up land, after those operations were performed, of course discharged many of their Chinese. Human labour also was economized, by the substitution of the plough for the spade, and the more general use of carts and teams; but still it required from sixty to seventy Chinese to meet the demand on private account, exclusive of the wants of Government; and these wants had become the more pressing, not only for the purposes of the Company's farm, but also to arrest the progress of dilapidation in public works and buildings, the repairs of which, under the preceding Government, would have interfered with other important objects. The imperfect state of agriculture required that the Company should continue to take the lead, in order to establish an example for directing the attention of the landholders to such points as facts should demonstrate to be most beneficial to their interests; and the Company's farm being little more than an infant establishment, destitute even of the most common farm buildings and conveniences (except a few of temporary construction), an extraordinary application of both labour and

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capital was called for to fit it for its intended purpose. Under these circumstances, the non-arrival of the additional Chinese, applied for in 1818, was a serious disappointment.

With the means at his disposal, Governor Wilks enclosed and broke up thirty additional acres at Long Wood, and formed a plantation of thirty-six acres within a new fence, besides effecting repairs and improvements of barracks, guardrooms, government houses, hospital and other buildings, aqueducts, and reservoirs, to the amount of nearly thirteen thousand pounds.

Whilst these measures were in process, and the landholders in anxious expectation of further assistance of farm servants from China, labour of another description was preparing for them which they little expected. It would be difficult to describe the astonishment of the inhabitants of this insulated little speck, upon the arrival of the *Icaurus* sloop of war, with intelligence that Napoleon Buonaparte was a prisoner, and within a few days' sail of the island. The surprise of the St. Helenians, at this unlooked-for event, was not unmingled with a considerable share of anxiety as to what might be the consequences to them of the appropriation

of St. Helena as a prison for the ex-Emperor. No communication, official or otherwise, had reached the Governor upon the subject, and the captain and officers of the *Icaurus* knew nothing of the intended arrangements, further than that the second battalion of the 53d Regiment was embarked in the squadron which accompanied Buonaparte. The inference deduced was, that the island would be transferred to the crown, and various were the conjectures as to the manner in which the Company's civil and military establishments were to be disposed of. Amongst the prevailing sensations, a deep concern was evident at the expected removal of their Governor, who by his conciliating, just, and enlightened measures, had gained the respect and esteem of the community. A few days brought all uncertainty to a conclusion. On the 15th October, 1814, His Majesty's ship *Northumberland*, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, anchored in the road, having on board the extraordinary personage expected, together with Marshal and Countess Bertrand, Count and Countess Montholon, General Gourgaud, Count Las Cases and his son, and eight servants. Sir George Cockburn landed immediately, and after a conference with Governor Wilks, returned on board, accompanied by the latter, who made a visit of ceremony to Napoleon.

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It was now ascertained that St. Helena was to remain in the hands of the Company, and under their government, subject, however, to such interposition of the Legislature and His Majesty's ministers, as the important end in view might render necessary, during the period of its appropriation to so remarkable a purpose. The King's ministers, being responsible to the nation and to Europe for the safe custody of Napoleon, of course were vested with the authority for appointing the person to whom that trust was to be delegated; it was also deemed essential that the same person should be entrusted with the chief civil and military authority on the island, and Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe being the officer selected on this occasion, the Court of Directors appointed him Governor of St. Helena. In announcing their accordance with these arrangements, the Court avowed to the St. Helena Government, that "they could not contemplate without pain" the attendant consequence of the removal of Colonel Wilks, whose conduct had entitled him to their entire approbation.

Until the arrival of the new Governor, the charge of Napoleon's person was exclusively entrusted to Sir George Cockburn; and as almost every military disposition had more or less a reference to that charge, it was consequently

necessary that the disposal of the troops should, in a certain degree, be in subservience to his wishes.

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The arrival of the second battalion of His Majesty's 53d Regiment, with detachments of other troops, brought into operation the clause in the act of the 27th of George II. ch. 9., which transfers from the Company's government, to the senior officer of the King's forces serving in the settlement, the authority for holding general courts-martial. That senior officer (Sir George Bingham) held also a colonel's commission of prior date to Colonel Wilks ; but as the charter vests the powers of Captain General in whatever person who holds the office of *Governor*, Colonel Wilks consequently still remained paramount in military as well as civil authority. These circumstances formed altogether rather an unusual assemblage of powers, but the characters of those in whom they were severally lodged, precluded all risk of the consequences which might have arisen from a want of unanimity. Inconvenience was effectually prevented by a general order, issued in the name of the Governor and Council, appointing Sir George Bingham *Commandant of the Troops*, and by another order, immediately after, from the Governor, directing the Commandant to comply with all

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requisitions from Sir George Cockburn, which could in any way be connected with the safe custody of his charge.

It not being usual for the Lieutenant-Governor to exercise any military authority inferior to that of immediate second in command to the Governor, Colonel Skelton's official functions became confined to those of civil Lieutenant-Governor, until the abolition of the office, by an order from the Court of Directors, dated 16th January, 1816.*

Such an extraordinary change in the circumstances of the island was of course attended with a vast additional expence ; for the adjustment of which, between the Crown and the Company, it was settled that the latter should pay annually a sum equal to the average charge of the three preceeding years, and that all beyond that sum should be defrayed by the Crown.

In the evening of the 17th October, Napoleon

* The abolition of the office of Lieutenant-Governor has been supposed to have been solely in consequence of the changes adopted on Buonaparte's arrival, but there is reason to believe that its discontinuance had been previously determined.

landed, and walked to the house prepared for his reception, accompanied by Sir George Cockburn, and in the presence of perhaps the largest concourse of people that had ever assembled at St. Helena on any former occasion. Early on the following morning, he left town on horseback, with Sir George and Count Bertrand, rode to Long Wood, and breakfasted with Colonel and Mrs. Skelton. He is understood to have expressed pleasure at the selection of this spot for his future residence, and wished to take immediate possession of the house, but was deterred from urging his application, by the representation of the inconvenience the Lieutenant-Governor's family would incur by so sudden a removal. He then returned towards town, but stopping at a place called the *Briars*, the residence of Mr. Balcombe, he requested to remain there, and to occupy a kind of summer-house detached from the dwelling, until Long Wood should be prepared to receive him. In this wish he was gratified; and for his further accommodation, a marquee was pitched adjoining the summer-house, and another was placed in the garden. At the *Briars* his evenings were frequently passed with the family of the mansion, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Balcombe, and two daughters of the ages of sixteen and fourteen; and in a very short time little more restraint

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was observed on the part of the young ladies towards the once mighty ruler of continental Europe, than would have been exercised towards an ordinary guest.

Upon an island of twenty-eight miles in circumference, which did not feed a population of hardly four thousand souls, and four hundred leagues distant from the nearest continent, it could not be expected that, upon so short a notice for the reception of its new visitants, they could obtain the kind of accommodation to which they had been accustomed ; and, in a place where fresh beef was so precious as to have occasioned restrictions upon its consumption, it may well be conceived that sensations of no ordinary nature were excited at a demand from the *maitre-d'hotel* of the Ex-Emperor, a few days after his arrival, for *four* bullocks, in order to make a *dish of brains* : of this demand, however, Buonaparte himself knew nothing, until Sir George Cockburn explained the objections to its being complied with, and the refusal is understood to have been received with perfect good-humour.

In less than two months, the necessary repairs and additions at Long Wood House having been completed, Buonaparte removed thither. From

his new residence he frequently visited the habitations of the neighbouring farmers, and through the medium of Count Las Cases, as an interpreter, discoursed with them on their domestic affairs and the husbandry of the island. Dinner parties were sometimes given at Long Wood, and for a considerable period its occupant was accessible to all visitors, whether residents of the island or strangers. In his interviews with Governor Wilks, politics were sometimes discussed, but chemistry was the favourite topic of conversation.

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The arrival of Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe, on the 14th April, 1816, relieved Colonel Wilks from his charge of the government and Sir George Cockburn from that of the custody of Buonaparte's person. Colonel Wilks a week after embarked for Europe, leaving behind him a veneration for his name which will long be affectionately cherished on the island.

The population of St. Helena deriving subsistence less from the produce of their lands than from imported supplies, is a circumstance which has already been noticed. The arrival of Buonaparte occasioned a sudden increase of that population to double its previous number, and

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whilst a more extended importation of food was thus called for, all vessels, except those in the service of Government or the Company, were prohibited from frequenting the island. The employment of an increased number of Government store-ships, and of vessels to bring cattle and sheep from the Cape, of course obviated any apprehension of absolute want; but the new circumstances, to which the inhabitants had become subjected, were not for some time viewed with much satisfaction.

From the earliest period after the settlement of the colony, much of its products had been usually bartered for grain, surplus ship stores and salt provisions, and the remains of unsold investments of the captains and officers of returning ships from India and China. This kind of traffic enabled the inhabitants to obtain many of the necessaries of life at moderate prices, and they had hoped that its further extension would be a consequence of the return of peace. Previous, also, to hostilities with the United States of America, vessels from that country brought supplies of salt provisions, flour, timber, lumber, salt fish, and other articles, which they could afford to dispose of at low rates, in exchange for India and China produce; and although it was not deemed probable that a revival of this traf-

fic would have been allowed, unaccompanied with a custom-house, at St. Helena, yet its restoration, even were it attended with moderate duties, was a desirable object in the eyes of mercantile speculators, and could hardly fail of proving very beneficial to the island in general.*

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Obstructions to these views were ill calculated to dissipate the anxiety first occasioned by the change, but in a short time dissatisfaction began to give place to other feelings. The great accession of population, together with the presence of a squadron of men of war, caused a more extensive and regular demand for land produce than had been ever known before, and the arrival of an additional number of Chinese, together with the labour of soldiers and sailors, gave such means for answering the encreased demand, as in a little time diminished the dependence upon the Cape of Good Hope for forage for horses, mules, and black cattle, and the landholders found their interests were rather promoted than injured by the residence of the new visitors; neither were the restrictions against private vessels frequenting the port so rigidly enforced as to preclude the shopkeepers from making hand.

* Our last treaty with the United States of America includes a clause for permitting vessels from that country to frequent St. Helena.

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some profits, so that it was not without real concern that the prospect of matters reverting to their former state was regarded by a large proportion of the inhabitants.

The additional accession of labour also effected very great improvements, both as to ornament and utility, in public works, roads, and buildings, exclusive of the handsome and spacious edifice erected at Long Wood for Buonaparte. The progress of the bramble was not only arrested, but its extirpation was effected, from considerable tracts of choice land, which were thus restored to profitableness, and large additions were made to the plantations, particularly after encouragement was given by the proffer of premiums in 1818; subsequently to which eighty acres were wooded by individuals. The extent planted on the Company's lands, by Sir Hudson Lowe, was seventy-five acres. These plantations were mostly on ground unfit for tillage, and of little value as pasture.

The practicability of conveying water from the springs under Diana's Peak to Long Wood and Dead Wood (a distance of two miles), had been demonstrated by Governor Brooke, but he had expressed his conviction, that to derive permanent advantage from it, pipe was abso-

lutely necessary. His three immediate successors attempted to accomplish the object in modes less expensive, but they all failed; and when a regiment was encamped on Dead Wood, the men at times had to go a distance of two miles and a quarter for their daily supply of water. It became necessary, therefore, to adopt the plan originally recommended, the execution of which affords a supply of twenty-two gallons per minute, to the incalculable encrease of value of a choice plain of fourteen hundred acres. Another level spot, of about twenty acres of good land, called Francis' Plain, where five companies were quartered, has also had water conveyed to it, partly in pipe, partly in a cut stone channel, from a distance of thirteen hundred yards; and amongst other points not unworthy of notice, is to be included a thorough reform in the hospital department.

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In Sir Hudson Lowe's government was likewise established the commencement of a progressive abolition of slavery, an event so vitally connected with the political, moral, and religious interests of the island, as will render it ever memorable in its annals. The object had been in his contemplation from the period of his arrival; but, in delaying to give publicity to his views, he had acquired an insight into characters

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and localities which better qualified him to judge of the fittest mode to carry his purpose into execution.

Slavery, it may perhaps be said, could have been at once abolished by an exercise of the legislative powers of the East-India Company : but, without manifest injustice, such a measure must necessarily have been accompanied with full remuneration for the privation of property acquired under the sanction of the laws ; besides which there was room for strong doubts as to the expediency or wisdom of a sudden removal of restraint from beings who had been born and reared up in a state of slavery.

If there could be any difference of opinion, whether the slave owners were or were not entitled to a voice on the question, there can assuredly be none as to the policy of endeavouring to accommodate the proceedings of Government to the sentiments of the governed ; and although it was ~~too~~ much to expect that slave owners would regard with complacency any measure tending to interfere with their property or their comforts, yet they unhesitatingly adopted Sir Hudson's suggestions, and left nothing for legislative interference except to give the stamp of law to their own act.

At a meeting of the inhabitants, convened on the 13th August, 1818, the Governor addressed them, and adverted to the progress of public opinion, which for years past had been advancing in favour of a general abolition of slavery. He had grounds for saying that the subject had attracted the serious attention of the Court of Directors, who must naturally view with regret St. Helena as the only spot under their government where slavery existed under any form or shape whatever. He admitted that in no part of the world did slavery exist in a milder form than in this island, but still it existed, and would remain in perpetuity upon the system which at present prevailed of every child born of a slave being also a slave. He then adverted to the measure adopted at Ceylon, where it had been declared that all children born of slave parents, after a fixed period, should be free. It was an example of this nature he proposed to them to imitate; but it would be perfectly optionable on the part of the inhabitants what consideration they might choose to give to his suggestions: he left the matter entirely to their own deliberation, and was desirous nothing should be resolved upon which did not meet their full concurrence.

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After a discussion of less than ten minutes, it

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was carried by acclamation that the general principle of the Governor's suggestions should be adopted. A committee of thirteen persons was elected to frame resolutions, which, in four days after, having met with the concurrence of another public meeting, were presented to the Governor and Council, with a request that they might pass into a law, which was accordingly complied with. By this law, all children born of a slave woman, from and after Christmas Day 1818, are free, but to be considered as apprentices to the proprietors of the mothers, if males, until the age of eighteen years, and if females, until sixteen; and that masters and mistresses are to enforce the attendance of free-born children at church and at the Sunday schools.

Some time after the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe, it was observed that Buonaparte had become less easy of access, frequently declining to receive visitors, and confining himself very much within the precincts of Long Wood. But in October, 1820, he sent a message to Sir William Doveton (a retired member of council, and an old inhabitant), announcing an intention to breakfast with him if agreeable; and accordingly a train of servants, with baskets, were seen approaching from the Long Wood side, and were soon followed by Buonaparte and Counts Ber-

trand and Montholon. The table was spread upon the lawn in front of the house : Buonaparte himself did the honours, and invited Sir William and his family to sit down as guests. It was inferred that he was about to resume his former social habits, which probably was his intention ; but his health had been on the decline, and in returning towards Long Wood, he felt so unwell, that he quitted his horse, and waited in a black man's hut until his carriage arrived. Some who saw him pass observed he looked very pale, and it is understood that he did not subsequently regain strength in any material degree.

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The new house at Long Wood, intended for Buonaparte, was completely finished and furnished, and his removal to it was daily expected, when reports were prevalent that his illness began to wear a serious aspect. About the 2d or 3d of May, 1821, it was pretty well known throughout the island that his end was approaching, and upon the 5th, about six o'clock in the evening, this extraordinary man breathed his last. On the following morning about seven o'clock, Sir Hudson Lowe proceeded to the apartment where the body lay, accompanied by Rear-Admiral Lambert, the Marquis de Montchenu, commissioner on the part of France and Austria, and other public functionaries and officers. After viewing the

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person of Napoleon, which lay with the face uncovered, they retired. At two o'clock the same day the body was opened in presence of six medical gentleman, including Professor Antomarchi, Buonaparte's own physician. An ulcer was found which penetrated the coats of the stomach ; and the internal surface of the latter, to nearly its whole extent, was a mass of cancerous disease, or schirrous portions advancing to cancer. Buonaparte had frequently declared that he knew what was his disorder, that it was hereditary, and that his father had died of it.

The body lay in state on the 6th and 7th May, attired in a military uniform, the Star of the Legion of Honour on the side, and a crucifix on his breast, the head towards an altar. The room was covered with black cloth. The Count and Countess Bertrand, Count Montholon, the priest, physician, and servants, were in attendance. The body was not embalmed, but the heart was put in spirits.

The instructions to Sir George Cockburn had provided, that in case of the death of Buonaparte, his body was to be taken to England ; but it seems that counter orders had been subsequently transmitted to Sir Hudson Lowe, and

it is said that Buonaparte had left a request, that in the event of his dying at St. Helena, and his body not being taken to Europe for interment, he should be buried in the place where he now lies, and which he had frequently before visited whilst Count and Countess Bertrand resided near it, previous to the building of their new house at Long Wood.

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Preparatory to the funeral, the body was put in a leaden coffin, in the dress in which it had lain in state, including boots and spurs. The leaden coffin was enclosed in two others, made of mahogany ; the outer coffin had plain top and sides, ebony round the edges, and silver head screws. Pursuant to military orders for conducting the ceremony with the honours usually paid to the remains of a general of the highest rank, the left side of the road from Long Wood gate, in a direction towards the burying place, was, on the 9th May, lined with all the troops of the garrison : the Royal Artillery on the right of the whole, then the 20th Regiment, the Royal Marines, the 66th Regiment, the St. Helena Artillery, the St. Helena Regiment, and on the left, the St. Helena Volunteers. The body, in a car drawn by four horses, and the whole of the funeral procession, passed along the front of the line of troops, the band of each

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corps playing solemn music. When the procession cleared the left of the line, it was followed by the troops, until they took up a position upon the road above the burying-place; and at the moment the body was lowered into the grave, three discharges were fired from eleven pieces of artillery, and thus terminated the last honours to Napoleon Buonaparte. The nature and degree of regard that may yet be paid to his *memory* history must decide; but, with the fullest acquiescence in the propriety of shewing all due delicacy to a fallen enemy, and however well he may have deserved of France for raising her from anarchy to order, the man, nevertheless, who, with no higher motive than to gratify a selfish ambition, had entertained the intention (a vain intention) of annihilating the British constitution, doubtless with the ultimate view of including us in such blessings as he had conferred on Holland and designed for Spain, has little claim to be remembered with veneration by Britons.

In July, 1821, Sir Hudson Lowe having announced his intention of proceeding to England, a question arose as to the person upon whom the Government was to devolve until the arrival of a successor. Mr. Brooke, who in 1818 had been advanced to a seat in Council, and had sub-

sequently risen to be first member, was according to precedent, to be regarded as the provisional successor. On the other hand, it had been settled by His Majesty's Ministers and the Court of Directors, that in the event of the death or absence of Sir Hudson Lowe, not only the custody of the state prisoner was to devolve upon the senior King's officer, but also, that such King's officer was to succeed as Governor of the island; and although the death of Buonaparte had removed the motive for this order, still the order itself remained unrepealed. It was further considered, that as the Company had agreed to lend the use of their island for a purpose, the fulfilment of which required the sending thither King's troops, with a staff, and considerable property, the loan could hardly be viewed as at an end, until either the removal of the King's establishments, or until the authorities in England, who were parties to the agreement, should transmit such instructions as to them might appear expedient; and that, until the receipt of these instructions, the orders of the last date ought not to be considered as having lost all claim to attention.

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To reconcile these difficulties, a middle course was agreed on, which conferred on Brigadier-General Pine Coffin the supreme military autho-

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rity, under the title of *Acting Commander-in-Chief*, independent of the civil power, and with the exclusive charge of Long Wood House, and all other buildings and property on the island appertaining to His Majesty's Government. The civil and judicial authority became vested in the Council, of which Mr. Brooke was declared *Acting President*. The title of *Acting Governor* was not to be assumed by either party, without orders from home. These temporary arrangements being settled, Sir Hudson Lowe sailed for England on the 25th July.

At the moment of Sir Hudson's embarkation an address was presented to him from the inhabitants, signed very generally; stating, that as he was "upon the eve of resigning his authority, they could not be suspected of views of an interested nature, in respectfully offering their most sincere and grateful acknowledgments, for the consideration, justice, impartiality and moderation, which had distinguished his government."

At the beginning of May, 1822, the 20th Regiment (the last of the King's troops that remained) left the island for Bombay, and the following July despatches were received from the Honourable Court of Directors, in which the

arrangements adopted on the departure of Sir Hudson Lowe were neither approved nor disapproved of in express terms ; but they applied the title of *Acting Governor* to Mr. Brooke ; and three weeks after, General Pine Coffin (in anticipation of orders which were soon after transmitted) embarked for England.* Upon this occasion, the senior officer of the Company's troops (Lieutenant Colonel Wright) succeeded to the immediate command of the military, subordinate to the Council, and the Government once more reverted to its constitutional principles.

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In the acting government of Mr. Brooke all restrictions upon the price of land produce were taken off, a measure which has been approved of by the Honourable Court of Directors. An important and substantial extension of the wharf was constructed ; and amongst other works was the commencement of a range of buildings (since finished) within the lines of Ladder Hill,

* It would be ungrateful in the Author to be silent on the friendly aid and support of Brigadier-General Pine Coffin, upon all occasions which required civil and military co-operation. The disjointed manner in which the duties of Government were exercised, never caused a moment's interruption to the harmony and unanimity which, from first to last, subsisted between the two authorities.

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for the lodgment of ordnance stores, which, to a considerable amount, had been exposed to injury from the want of proper cover.

Upon the 11th of March, 1823, Brigadier-General Alexander Walker* arrived from England as Governor, who, in conjunction with Messrs. Brooke and Greentree, formed the new government.

Within the last thirty or thirty-five years, a great change had occurred in favour of the slave population. The importation of addi-

* This gentleman belonged to the establishment of Bombay, and filled some important situations under that government. For many years he held the office of Resident in Guzerat at Baroda, the Court of his Highness the Guicawar. In this situation he is understood to have performed services for which he received the repeated and distinguished thanks of the Honourable Court of Directors, as well as of the Governor in Council of Bombay, and the Supreme Government in India. In 1808, after much perseverance, he succeeded in obtaining a solemn pledge from the principal Rajahs in the neighbourhood, to discontinue the inhuman but long-rooted practice of infanticide: and, in the following year, when revisiting that part of the country, he was gratified by the visits of crowds of parents, bringing to him the children whose lives he had been the means of saving; the parents, at the same time, giving loose to the sentiments and language of that natural affection, which not even the long existence of the diabolical custom had proved sufficient entirely to obliterate.

tional slaves had been prohibited ; those that still remained in bondage had been placed under a greater degree of protection than before ; a solicitude for their acquiring moral habits and religious instruction had been manifested, not only by successive Governors, but also by the white inhabitants ; a Benevolent Society, instituted by Governor Wilks, provided the means of education to numbers amongst the lower orders ; the punishment of whipping, whether by the authority of masters or magistrates, had become less frequent ; and the slave proprietors, by their own act, had put a stop to the perpetuity of slavery : the tone of public opinion was therefore propitious to the views of Governor Walker, in still further accelerating the progress of whatever could meliorate human life, or elevate moral character.

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With the intent of abolishing, as far as possible, the degrading and demoralizing punishment of whipping, a tread-wheel has been constructed ;* and, as far as the experience of four

* The part upon which the culprits tread is a horizontal circular plane, revolving upon a vertical axis or spindle. The labour is similar to that of pushing with their hands a cross-bar placed about the height of the head or perhaps a little higher. At every step, the wheel recedes from behind them, and there is a contrivance for keeping their bodies in a posi-

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months affords the means of judging, there is every reason to hope it will be attended with its expected beneficial consequences.

The measures pursued for effecting the attendance of slaves at public worship have already proved so successful, that alterations in the interior arrangements of the churches have become necessary to accommodate the augmented congregations.* The same proclamation, in which

tion leaning forward. The exercise is probably not so severe as that in the English tread-wheels, but augmented punishment can always be administered, by making the offenders work in shackles, or by prolonging the duration of the sentence. The purpose to which the machinery is applied is grinding lime; a process requisite to give to the lime of St. Helena the qualities of a good cement.

* The following are extracts from the Governor and Council's proclamation of 20th August, 1823:—“None, it is presumed, will be disposed to question that regular attendance at public worship will, in time at least, produce some degree of respect for Divine ordinances; and whatever may be the inattention of many, it can hardly be supposed that *all* will continue insensible to impressions so liable to be excited by habitually hearing the word of God, and witnessing a congregation uniting in prayer and adoration.”—“It is by teaching a slave the duties of religion, that he will learn his duty towards his master, and acquire a proper respect for his own character.”—“It is only, in short, by obliging slaves to go to church, that Sabbath breaking, and all the demoralizing vices that accompany idleness, can be prevented.”

these objects have been urged to the attention of the inhabitants, also states, that “although
 “due regard for religion and its institutions
 “forms the chief ground-work of good conduct,
 “yet we are not to reject the aid of other means
 “to promote the advancement of morals, decency, and industry, among the slave population of this island. Slaves, we must remember,
 “are men, and are to be governed, not less by re-
 “wards than by punishments. With this view,
 “the Governor and Council propose to revive
 “the humane and judicious plan of Governor
 “Patton, by allotting premiums and rewards to
 “meritorious slaves.”

The incalculable blessings which have already resulted from Governor Wilks’s institution of the Benevolent Society, are likely to attain a still wider range under the fostering patronage of General Walker. One of the purposes of this society is relief for pecuniary distress; but its main object is to rescue from the trammels of ignorance and vice, the children of slaves, free-blacks, and the poorer classes of the community. At the different schools, under the united auspices of the Company and the Society, the number of children who attend has lately increased to four hundred; a large proportion in a population of little more than

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In the above number are not reckoned thirty-five children at the head school.—For the education of every description of inhabitants, the Company pay annually the sum of one thousand pounds, besides providing the necessary buildings; and about two hundred and fifty pounds is the annual amount contributed by the Benevolent Society towards instructing the *lower* orders.

A public examination on the 19th December, 1823, of so many children, in presence of the Governor and Council, and many ladies and gentlemen of the settlement, was a sight of no small interest and gratification, particularly to those whose recollections enabled them to contrast such a scene with the circumstances of former times. The minds of the present rising generation are imbued with that knowledge of which the Bible is the source; English, writing, and arithmetic, form the remaining parts of their education; and St. Helena has a fair prospect of acquiring, in some years, a virtuous and industrious *free peasantry*, in lieu of a race of slaves under the lamentable disadvantages which that condition usually entails upon its victims.

To give due effect to what has already been

so happily commenced, a protecting eye upon the children must not be considered as unnecessary upon their leaving school. Their condition will then be critical, and upon their first steps in the career of life, much will depend as to the degree of benefit which may accrue to themselves and the public from the advantages they will have previously received. This is a subject which has attracted the serious attention of the present Governor; and it is of the greater moment, as the population is on the increase, and is likely to increase still faster as slavery and vice decline. The only mechanical trades heretofore followed by the islanders are those of carpenters, masons, and tailors. Many of the most common arts of life are so little practised, that even labourers' baskets are imported from England, although St. Helena produces raw material of various kinds. It also produces in abundance and great luxuriance, the *Mimosa myrtifolia* of New South Wales, where it is understood the bark is used for tanning. Recourse to this tree might render of some avail the many skins of oxen and sheep which are now thrown away to rot, the inhabitants obtaining all their leather and shoes from abroad. Of the excellent fleeces taken annually from hundreds of sheep, no other use is made than occasionally

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stuffing a bed-ticking ; and the cotton plant is regarded as little better than a weed. Notwithstanding the failure of some former attempts to make bricks and tiles, another trial will be made by the present Governor, and the manufacture of coarse pottery is also intended to be tried. If, by attention and perseverance, such resources can be turned to any account, they will be of more value from the dearth of employment for females, and for those of the other sex who, through age or infirmity, may be incapable of more laborious exertion.

By a late regulation of the Honourable Court of Directors, the cadets for the St. Helena artillery are required to receive a professional education at the Company's Seminary at Addiscombe ; but the full effects of such an advantage are not to be expected, unless followed up by practice and the pursuit of further knowledge. Upon a release from the restraints of a school, those who are not naturally blessed with a taste for study are too often less disposed to improve upon what they have already acquired, than to indulge in amusements more generally attractive ; particularly if there be a deficiency of example to excite laudable emulation. To create a stimulus to the pursuit of science amongst the young artillery officers (but

without excluding the youth of any branch of the service), the Governor has founded an association, entitled the *Military Institution*, the studies of which are not limited to professional points, or to mere theory. The island, from its great elevation and the serenity of its sky, is remarkably favourable to astronomical observations; and an intelligent captain, in the Company's naval service, having suggested that the frequent determination of the true time at St. Helena would be of great use in correcting chronometers (which is sometimes a work of difficulty), attention to this point may probably be the means of extending the utility of the Military Institution of St. Helena to a wider range than the circumference of the little island.— Important as it is to the public service to have a corps of well-instructed artillery officers, it can hardly be deemed less gratifying to reflect, that the means by which that end is promoted also conduces to sow the seeds of habits, of which even the example will contribute to diffuse a beneficial influence upon the character, manners, and views of the society.

To facilitate success in the measures of a Government, it is not enough that the motive be the interest of the governed; the latter must be convinced that such is really the case, if

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their co-operation be desired. The inhabitants of St. Helena feel satisfied that their welfare is the indefatigable study of General Walker, and this confidence will assuredly assist in giving effect to his philanthropic and enlightened views. An Agricultural and Horticultural Society which he has founded, promises well, and may probably open the way to further benefits than those implied in its designation: even in a moral sense, it may be expected to prove advantageous.*

* The following are extracts from the Governor's address, at a public meeting on the 3d July, 1823:—

“ In the course of a tedious passage, when I had leisure
“ to reflect on the prospect before me, it occurred to me,
“ that the island of St. Helena might be essentially im-
“ proved by the voluntary association of its inhabitants.

“ I had seen the beneficial and encouraging effects of
“ such associations in Great Britain.

“ The formation of such a society, in St. Helena, would
“ be productive of many advantages. By meeting together,
“ the members would have an opportunity of learning each
“ others' sentiments, of imparting the results of their la-
“ bours and experience, and of diffusing more generally the
“ discovery of any thing useful or curious.

“ The inhabitants of St. Helena have not been idle, and
“ it will not be a little satisfactory to find, that if they have
“ not

The frequent failures of attempts to establish a regular market in James's Town have not

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“ not done so much as they might have done, they have
“ always been in a state of progress. Nothing can be more
“ forbidding than the external aspect of St. Helena, and
“ the spirit of the first inhabitants, who adopted it as their
“ abode, cannot be too much admired. Had it not been
“ for their arrival in these seas, with the view of prosecuting
“ a commercial intercourse with India, it is probable that
“ the island would have been destined to eternal sterility.

“ Even after it was occupied and made the theatre of
“ labour, it would probably have been the resort of smug-
“ glers and pirates, had it not been for the fostering care
“ and direction of the East-India Company. How different
“ is its destiny! St. Helena is devoted to the relief and en-
“ couragement of mariners: she is the main link that con-
“ nects the commerce of India with that of Europe.

“ In the hands of any other Government, it is more than
“ probable that St. Helena would have been merely a for-
“ tified rock, without any other inhabitants than its sol-
“ diers, and destined only for the selfish purpose of exclud-
“ ing others.

“ But although the external appearance of St. Helena is
“ barren and forbidding, nature has not been unkind. The
“ interior presents a romantic variety. The soil in most
“ places is quite capable of supporting trees, and in many
“ of raising crops of corn. It is for these purposes that
“ we should seek to discover how it can be best applied.
“ The pursuit of agriculture would be the source of great
“ prosperity to the island; it would give relief and occupa-
“ tion

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deterred the present Government from making another trial. The spot now chosen for this

“ tion to the inhabitants; it would produce more wealth,
 “ and, if it should not altogether obviate, it would certainly
 “ render a dependence on foreign supplies less necessary;
 “ it would promote the comfort and the health of the inhabi-
 “ tants; it would afford them a more abundant supply of
 “ nourishing food, and create habits of more laborious
 “ industry.

“ The pursuit of agriculture, however, should go hand
 “ in hand with the planting of trees, and with all those
 “ measures of improvement or of ornament, which, within
 “ these few years, have made so great advances on the
 “ island of St. Helena. By exertions well directed, the cli-
 “ mate would be ameliorated, the ease and convenience
 “ of all the inhabitants promoted, beyond any calculation
 “ which they can make at present.

“ The inhabitants of St. Helena are, in their character
 “ and condition, essentially farmers; but by confining their
 “ operations to the raising of roots and of plants, which
 “ come under the denomination of green crops, they de-
 “ prive themselves of many advantages, and obtain those
 “ crops in less abundance and at greater expense. It would
 “ therefore be more useful to extend their operations, to
 “ combine the different branches of farming, and to adopt
 “ the rotations which have been pursued with so much suc-
 “ cess in the mother country.

“ This is too early for details, and I wish to avoid them;
 “ but I am anxious to convince the inhabitants of the im-
 “ portance of uniting the cultivation of grain with their
 “ present

purpose is without the gate on the main line, upon the direct and only road to the shipping,

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“ present system. This is the only means of restoring and
 “ renovating the soil, which is exhausted by constant use.
 “ The advantage of attending to this object would be im-
 “ mediate and certain. The farming stock would advance
 “ in quality and quantity. All the productions of the land
 “ would make the same progress; even the fruits of the
 “ trees would attain a proportional perfection. The pro-
 “ prietors would arrive to a greater degree of prosperity and
 “ importance; their servants and animals would be better
 “ fed: all would have more comfort. Sufficient perhaps
 “ might be raised for the consumption of the island.

“ On this system every house should have its farm, and
 “ every farm should attempt to raise its own supplies. Let
 “ all our efforts be directed for the benefit of the island,
 “ and we shall increase the comforts of each other. Let us
 “ direct and assist each other by our different degrees of in-
 “ telligence and information. A competition will rouse us
 “ all to exertion, and we shall then go hand in hand with
 “ the Government, which has so long fostered and protect-
 “ ed St. Helena. If the inhabitants will but persevere in
 “ their exertions, establish or maintain wholesome relations
 “ amongst themselves, they will be certain of success:”—
 “ They must continue to entertain charitable and good
 “ opinions of each other.”

“ My own earnest desire, while I remain here, will be
 “ to identify myself with the interests of the island, and
 “ to do every thing in my power to promote them. I
 “ wish to create a stimulus, and to afford scope for indus-
 “ try. By our united efforts we may expect to connect this
 “ island

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and sufficiently near to the town. It is shaded by a row of peepel trees (a species of the bannian), and has the advantage of a range of rooms which had recently formed a very inadequate place of deposit for ordnance stores. The market opened on the 1st of September, and in place of twice a week, as at first proposed, it has been a scene of traffic every day since, Sundays excepted. No article of island produce is sold in any other part of the town; and its advantages, as affecting both buyers and sellers, are so sensibly felt, that its discontinuance would now be regarded as a very serious loss.

Another of the results of Governor Walker's suggestions was the very novel spectacle at St. Helena, on the 5th of December, of a Fair upon Dead Wood Plain, and a show of cattle and agricultural produce for prizes, preceded by a ploughing match upon the contiguous farm of the Company's. These exhibitions were attended by an extraordinary concourse of inhabitants of both sexes, of every rank, class, and colour. More business was transacted than was expect-

" island more closely with the general state of society,
 " and with the comforts or interest of those whose busi-
 " ness leads them to it. I must not mislead you by false
 " views and notions, and most assuredly this is not my in-
 " tention."

ed upon a first experiment, and there is a likelihood of a thronged assembly upon the next occasion.*

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* At a meeting of the Agricultural Society, a few days after the fair, an address was delivered by General Walker, from which the following are extracts :—

“ The Agricultural Society of St. Helena is yet in its
“ infancy, and we cannot expect it to arrive at perfection all
“ at once. Every improvement must be progressive, and we
“ can only look for the advancement of our institution after
“ a succession of meetings and trials.

“ We may affirm, with truth and pride, that the plough-
“ ing matches exhibited as much skill and dexterity as the
“ art in general could any where display. The Europeans,
“ who were trained and taught in Europe, however deserv-
“ ing of praise, and however high their excellence, have com-
“ paratively inferior claims on our approbation to the natives
“ of the island, who exhibited on Friday, and who have
“ never been off the Old Rock. But it was the competition
“ of friends, and not of rivals, jealous of each other. The
“ prizes were distinct and separately allotted.

“ The native ploughmen, all men of colour, to whom the
“ prizes were awarded, rivalled, and even equalled the per-
“ formances of Europeans. This affords an encouraging
“ proof, that a very long apprenticeship is less necessary to
“ acquire a practical knowledge of the profession, than
“ intelligence and attention.

“ We saw on the field different kinds of ploughs, and
“ almost all the modes of managing them, according to the
“ various practice of Great Britain.”—“ There were on the

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Within six months after General Walker's arrival, sixty acres of the Company's lands were

“ ground on Friday, the light iron plough, the small wood
“ plough, and the heavy Kentish wheel plough: the former
“ were drawn by mules, and the latter by oxen.”—“ I was
“ happy to observe, that the Company's small wood plough,
“ and those of iron, were wrought by two mules and one man,
“ who managed the plough and guided the animals with
“ perfect ease and facility. Blueman (the name of one of
“ the competitors) had three mules and a driver: his three
“ mules were not yoked abreast, but in a row, which must
“ have diminished very considerably their powers of
“ draught.* Each of the Kentish ploughs had six oxen,
“ a driver, and a ploughman.

“ This short statement, or rather the exhibition we wit-
“ nessed, may give us some useful ideas of the comparative
“ value and expence of labour. Every successful attempt to
“ lessen the number of men and animals in the operations of
“ agriculture, must be profitable to the farmer. The profits
“ of his labour must always bear an exact proportion to the
“ arrangement and economy with which it is performed. We
“ observed here two mules and one man performing the same
“ quantity and quality of work, in one case, as three mules
“ and two men; and in another of six oxen and two men.”

“ The show of stock was respectable, and some of the
“ animals were of a superior quality. The exhibition of bulls
“ was in particular good, and some of them would not have
“ disgraced

* This hint has been sufficient: Blueman, a few days after the competition, was observed ploughing without a driver, and with only two mules yoked abreast.

planted with forest trees, on situations of little value for any other purpose.

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“ disgraced an English show.”—“ Most of the cows were
“ of a middling quality.”—“ The show of heifers was very
“ fair, both in beauty and condition.”—“ There were only two
“ or three good grass-fed oxen.”—“ There were also several
“ good rams of the South Down breed ; but the rest, with
“ ewes and wethers, had but moderate qualities to recommend
“ them.”—“ The boars and pigs were fair ; but nothing
“ remarkable.”

“ It is proper I should remark here, that there are much
“ finer cows, ewes, and wethers, and swine on the island,
“ than those which were in general produced at the show.
“ The proprietors were prevented by several reasons from
“ bringing them forward. Some, from their animals having
“ fallen off lately, in consequence of the deficiency of food,
“ gave up the contest in despair, from a mistaken conception
“ that beasts in a superior state would be produced, and
“ that they would have no chance in the event of a competition.
“ They were likewise unwilling to show their animals
“ in an inferior condition to that which they attain in the
“ usual dispensation of good seasons. The failure of rain,
“ and the consequently burnt-up state of the pastures, were
“ the causes of this wrong notion.”

“ The shows of barley and oats, both unthreshed and clean,
“ were excellent, and would have been considered so in
“ England.”—“ Some very good specimens of woollen yarn
“ were exhibited : the wool was the produce of the flocks
“ of the island, and was spun on a wheel made here by our
“ ingenious mechanic, Mr. Adamson. As the wheel was
“ probably the first seen at St Helena, it was also offered to
“ public view.”

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The successful progress of the Company's farms has hitherto been much impeded from

“ The wool of the island, as well as the sheep, consists of several qualities and degrees of fineness: the best is of a very good quality, equal to the English South Down; it is suitable to all the common purposes of the hosiery trade. The same remark may be applied to the cotton, which grows spontaneously on several parts of the island, and which, spun into thread, might be made to answer various uses.”—“ There was likewise an exhibition of baskets of different descriptions, made up for this occasion: they were made of materials the produce of this island, viz. the willow, bamboo, mimosa, oak twigs, and the black-berry or bramble.”—“ The inhabitants have abundance of materials for a free and extensive exercise of all the first arts. By a proper use of the produce of the island, and by a little attention, they might make themselves independent of other countries, from which they are at present supplied with every trifling, but necessary article of life.”

“ I shall now come to the business of the fair. It went on extremely well, considering its novelty, and all the circumstances of the case. It was well attended; but as the morning was foggy, and the appearance of the weather unsettled, many were prevented from bringing forward articles which they had otherwise intended.

“ A considerable quantity of produce was however sold, and more would have met a good market had the supplies appeared, or had the sellers and buyers better understood each others' wants. There were farmers who had produce to sell, which they did not bring into the market, not imagining that it would there find purchasers; and
“ there

the insufficiency of those buildings and conveniences which, in England, are regarded as indispensable for the purposes of good husbandry. The Long Wood farm, including Dead Wood, comprises an extent of thirteen hundred acres, mostly good land, and sufficiently level for the plough. It has been unprovided with any means for the lodgment of produce, or the management of live stock, except a few small miserable hovels, always wanting repair, constructed at different times and for various purposes, and consequently without any view to connected arrangement. This disadvantage is now upon the eve of being fully remedied. For the temporary reception of Buonaparte considerable additions were made to the residence formerly allotted to the Lieutenant-Governor, and the abrogation of that appointment having rendered the house disposable, it is now appropriated to farm offices. It forms one side and partly another of a yard one hundred and thirty-

“ there were actually purchasers disappointed from the
 “ articles not appearing for sale. On another occasion,
 “ experience and the mutual interests of the parties, will,
 “ no doubt, lead them to a better understanding.

“ A good number of cattle and sheep, and some imple-
 “ ments of husbandry, were sold. Some horses also were
 “ exposed. Most of the articles, I understand, were sold
 “ at fair prices.”

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three feet by eighty-one. The enclosure is completed by the removal thither of some of the wooden barracks from the adjacent plain of Dead Wood, which are placed on foundations of masonry; and when an expected threshing-machine shall arrive from England, the premises will comprise every thing necessary of carrying on the business of the farm.

To what purpose the handsome edifice, lately erected in that vicinity, could or should be applied, has been a subject of much conversation, uncertainty, and conjecture. Amongst the appropriations to which various opinions or suppositions have been disposed to assign it, were those of a Governor's house, quarters for troops, farm offices, a house for the senior member of Council, a school—whilst some were for recommending its dilapidation and the sale of the materials, a measure which it is to be hoped will never be seriously contemplated, and would probably disappoint any expectations founded upon notions of economy. The building is square, the interior sides forming a central court-yard, with a carriage-way through it. Two sides, the north and west, consist of the apartments that were intended for the principal occupant: they are upon one floor, but in the rest of the building there are attics. The east side

was designed for the use of Count Montholon and his family, and in the remaining side are the rooms which were to have been inhabited by the priest, the physician, and others of the suite, besides the orderly officer. The main entrance is to the northward, across the centre of a veranda supported by cast-iron pillars, giving admittance to an apartment thirty-eight feet by twenty-two. To the left is the drawing-room, twenty-six feet by twenty-two ; and on the right is the library, twenty-eight feet by twenty-four. The dimensions of the dining-room are twenty-six feet by twenty ; and those of the other parts of the edifice are of corresponding proportions. The whole covers an area of one hundred and twenty-two feet square, independently of a yard and detached buildings on the south side, and is finished in a good style by workmen sent out from England for the purpose. The view to the northward extends over about eight hundred acres of either plain or gently undulating ground, interspersed in some parts with trees, and having a park-like appearance, terminated by rather a peaked mountain, called Flag-Staff, and a huge mass of rock, which from its form is named *The Barn* : on either side of these elevations is seen the horizon. To the eastward is a plantation of gum-wood trees, through which are carriage drives ; and towards the south-west

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rise the interior heights, covered with trees and verdure.

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As a residence for the Governor, the situation would not be so convenient as Plantation House, it being double the distance from town: and were Plantation House to be no longer required for its present purpose, its application to any other use would then become as much a matter for consideration as has been the case with the house at Long Wood. For military quarters, it is unnecessarily capacious for the force permanently stationed thereabouts, even during war. Farm offices are already provided; but were it otherwise, it could hardly fail to excite regret at seeing threshers, and calves, and pigs, invading the precincts of marble chimney-pieces, gilt mouldings, plate glass, and highly finished window-sashes, doors, and cornices. As a house for a member of Council, it would be quite disproportionate to his allowances, even were it offered him; but as a seminary of education it would be well adapted, and to this desirable use it is not unlikely it may be applied. At present Divine service is performed in the house every Sunday by one of the chaplains, to the great accommodation of many of the neighbouring inhabitants; a convenience of which they need not be deprived by the establishment of a school.

About one hundred and fifty yards from the building is the house which Count and Countess Bertrand inhabited: it is now the dwelling of the Company's farmer. The road to Long Wood, passing near also to the tomb of Buona-parte, is well thronged with visitors when ships are in port; and the willows overhanging the grave would soon disappear if they were not railed in, and prevented from having cuttings taken from them, except by written permission from the Governor.

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As the means of obtaining an abundance of good water at St. Helena with expedition, is one of the chief advantages of the port, General Walker has had the contents of an additional spring conducted to the reservoir, which had heretofore inadequately supplied the pipe for the use of the shipping. A daily increase of one hundred and ninety-four tons has been the result, making a total of three hundred tons of remarkably fine water procurable within twenty-four hours; a quantity which can be still further augmented. There is no longer occasion, therefore, for the aid of a stream that flowed through an open channel exposed to impurities, which of late gave rise to complaints against the St. Helena water.

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to 1823.

It might be premature to enter into a further detail of the measures of the present Governor, in all of which he is supported by the cordial co-operation of the Council, and there appears every reason to hope, that their united endeavours will essentially promote the improvement of the island, and the benefit of its inhabitants and the public.

The author is aware that the solicitude he has expressed with regard to St. Helena, may be represented as misplaced, and that the very possession of that island may be thought a point of inferior consequence by those who would maintain that the Cape of Good Hope, as an intermediate port between Europe and the East, is exclusively worthy of the national attention. It is true, that the superior internal resources of the latter colony, its extent, and, above all, its position, so critically adapted for the annoyance or protection of our Eastern dominions, render it an object of supreme importance. But it is well known, that ships cannot always obtain a safe anchorage at the Cape, and it is needless to detail the melancholy accidents which have taken place on that coast. The whole history of St. Helena, on the other hand, furnishes but three instances of wrecks, of which the latest was one hundred

and eighty years ago.* The seas and winds at the Cape do not at all seasons allow ships to approach or leave its harbours, and delays of several weeks have at times been the consequence; but no vessel has been known to have been weather-bound at St. Helena.

CHAP.
X.
—
From 1813
to 1823.

The probability of such dangers and inconveniences might sometimes render it hazardous for a valuable homeward-bound fleet to touch at the Cape, and in such circumstances, a port like St. Helena, under their lee, would be of inestimable importance. The water there is as pure and as wholesome as at the Cape, and can be procured with equal facility and equal expedition. It is true, refreshments of other kinds are not so abundant; but they have for some time past been on the increase, and of late have proved fully equal to the demand: it has seldom, indeed, happened otherwise in the article of potatoes, of which the quality is excellent, and of which the benefit of laying in a sea store has been often felt and acknowledged. There is no want in

* It is not very clear that the term *wrecked* is strictly applicable to all, or perhaps any of the three cases alluded to. The first ship, in particular, is supposed to have arrived at St. Helena in a state which would have rendered it dangerous for her to proceed, and was therefore condemned as unseaworthy, and broken up.

CHAP.
X.

From 1813
to 1823.

the market of good poultry, beef, and mutton : a considerable variety of fruit is also to be obtained when in season, as well as ample quantities of the finest vegetables.

These considerations tend to prove, that though the superiority of the Cape, as a colony of general political importance, be fully admitted, yet, upon comparing the respective advantages and disadvantages of the two places, merely as ports of refreshment and of rendezvous for East-India convoys, the balance is in favour of St. Helena ; and the author will surely be forgiven, from his natural feelings towards it, for indulging some degree of honest pride in the belief, and in the wish, that this little spot, with congenial prosperity, may continue to protect and facilitate our commerce with the East, and, by participating in its success, be always regarded as an important and essential part of the British empire.

APPENDIX.

(A.)

*Extract from a Charter of King Charles the Second, dated the
3d April, 1661.*

AND that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor and Company, and their successors from time to time, and at all times from henceforth, to erect and build such castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, colonies, or plantations, at St. Helena; as also elsewhere within the limits and bounds of trade granted unto the said Governor and Company as aforesaid, as they in their discretion shall think fit and require, and for the supplying of such as shall be requisite to keep and be in the same, to send out of this kingdom to the said castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, colonies, or plantations, all kind of clothing, provision of victuals, ammunition, and implements necessary for such purpose, without paying of any custom, subsidy, or other duty, for the same; as also to transport and carry over such number of men (being willing thereunto) as they shall think fit; as also to govern them in such legal and reasonable manner as the said Governor and Company shall think fit; and to inflict punishment for misdemeanors, or impose such fines upon them for breach of their orders, as in these presents are formerly expressed.

(B.)

Copy of a Charter granted to the Company by his Majesty King Charles the Second, dated 16th December, 1673.

Preamble. CHARLES the Second, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, to all to whom these presents shall come greeting, whereas at the suit of our well-beloved subjects the Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and for the honour and profit of this our realme, and in the encouragement of trade in those remote parts, We have, by our royall charter, or letters patent, bearing date at Westminster, the third day of Aprill, in the 13th yeare of our reigne, granted unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and their successors, that they and their successors, and their factors, servants and assigns, in the trade of merchandize for them, and on their behalfe, and not otherwise, shall for ever have, use, and enjoy the whole, and entire and only trade and traffique, and the whole, entire, and only liberty, use, and privilege of trading, and trafficking, and using the feate and trade of merchandize to and from the said East-Indies, and to and from all the islands, ports, havens, citties, towns, and places within their said charter, that is to say, to and from the said East-Indies, in the countries of Asia and Africa, and to and from the islands, ports, havens, creeks, citties, and towns, and places, of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona-Esperanza, to the streights of Magellan, where any trade or traffique of merchandize may be used or had; and that it should and may be lawful to and for the said Governour and Company, and their successors from time to time, and at all times, henceforth, to erect and build such castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, and to erect such collonies, and make such plantations at St. Helena, as also elsewhere within the limitts and bounds of trade granted unto the said Governour and Company as afore-said, as they in their discretion shall think fit and reque-

Liberty to
erect forts at
St. Helena.

sit, and for the supplying of such as should be requestit to keep or be in the same, to send out of this kingdom to the said castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, collonies, or plantations all kinde of clothing, provision, or victuals, ammunition, and supplyments necessary for such purpose, without paying of any custom, subsidy, or other duty, for the same; as also to govern them in such legall and reasonable manner as the Governour and Company shall think fitt; and to inflict punishment for misdemeanors, or impose such fines upon for breach of their orders as in our said charter are expressed. And whereas also by our said royall charter or letters patent, Wee have ordained that there shall be a Government and twenty-foure Committees of the said Company, to be ellected and appointed in such forme as therein is expressed, who shall from time to time have the directions of the voyage of and for the said Company, and the provision of the shipping and merchandize thereunto belonging, and also the saile of all merchandize, goods, and other things, returned in all or any of the voyages or ships of or for the said Company, and the manageing and handleing of all other businesses, affairs, and things, belonging to the said Company; and likewise that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Governour and Company for the time being, or the major part of them present at any publique meeting, commonly called the Generall Court, holden for the said Company, the said Governour for the said Company alwaies being one, from time to time to elect, nominate, and appoint one of the said Company to be the Deputy to the said Governor, who from time to time, in the absence of the said Governour, shall exercise and execute the office of Governour of the said Company, in such sort as the said Governour ought to do, as by our said charter letters patent, reference thereunto being had among divers others, grants, liberties, immunities, privileges, and pre-eminences, may more fully appear; and whereas, in persuance of our said royal charter, the said Governour and Company did, at their own cost and charge erect severall forts and fortifications as aforesaid, being an island situate in or near Africa, beyond the line, and on this side the Cape of Bona-Esperanza, and placed a garrison there, and

To send provisions thither without paying any duty.

were proceeding to plant and people on the same, and for that purpose had transported divers of our subjects, who were willing thereunto, to inhabit there; but our said subjects inhabiting the said island were lately, in time of warr between us and the states

Referred to the
capture of St.
Helena by the
Dutch

of the United Provinces, by force of arms dispossessed thereof by the subjects and forces of the said states, and the said states and their subjects had

and kept the quiett posetion thereof for severall months together; and whereas, by the grace of God on our royall

Its re-capture by
Captain Munden.

ships and forces under the command of Sir Richard Munden, the said island, and all and singular the forts, fortifications, and other the appurtenances

thereunto belonging, were retaken from the said states and their subjects, and a garrison of our subjects placed there, by virtue or reason whereof the said island, and all and singular the forts and fortifications, erections, and buildings thereon, with the appurtenances vested in us, our heirs and successors in the write of our crowne, all artillery, arms, armour, weapons, ordnance, munition, magazins, stores, goods, chattles, and movables whatsoever, which were there found at the time our said

Vested in the
Crown by right
of conquest.

forces retook the same as aforesaid, do of right belong unto us, and no other; and whereas the said island hath bin found by experience to be very neces-

sary and commodious for our loving subjects the said Governour and Company of Merchants trading into the East-Indies, for refreshing of their servants and people in their returns homewards, being often then weak and decayed in their health by reason of their long voyages under their hott clymes, whereupon our subjects, the said Governour and Company, have besought us to re-grant and confirme the same unto them: Now know yee, that forasmuch as Wee have found by much experience that the said trade into the said East-Indies hath bin managed by the said Governour and Company to the honour and profit of this our realme, and to that end, and out of our earnest desires that the said Governour and Company may, by all good and lawfull means and waies be encouraged in their difficult and hazardous trade and traffique in these remote parts of the world, Wee therefore, of our especiall grace, certain knowledge, and meer

motion, have given, granted, and confirmed, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do give, grant, and confirme unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, their successors and assigns, all that the said island St. Helena, with all the rights, profitts, territories, and appurtenances whatsoever; and the soyle, land, fields, woods, mountains, farmes, lakes, pools, harbours, rivers, bays, isles, isletts, scituate or being within the bounds or limitts thereof, with the fishing of all sorts of fish, whales, sturgeons, and all other royall fishes in the sea bayes, isletts, rivers, within the premises, and the fish therein taken; and all the veines, maines, quarryes, as well royall mines as the mines whether the same be already discovered or not discovered, and also all gold, silver, veines, and precious stones, and all other whatsoever, be it of stones, metalls, or any thing whatsoever, found, or to be found, within the veines, mines, or quarryes, of the said island and premises aforesaid, and all and singular royalties, revenues, rents, customes, castles, forts, and buildings, and fortifications, erected, and to be erected, on the premises, or any part thereof; and all privileges, franchises, immunities, preheminencies, and heridants whatsoever within the same, or to them, or any of them belonging or in any wise appertaining, in as large and ample a manner, to all intents, and purposes, and constitutions, as Wee now ourselfe have and enjoy the same by virtue and force of our said conquest thereof, or otherwise howsoever; and them the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, their successors and assigns, Wee do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, make, create, and constitute the true and absolute Lords and proprietors of the island and premises aforesaid, and every part and parcell thereof, saveing and alwaies reserving to us, our heirs and successors, the faith and allegiance to us due and belonging, and our royall power and sovereignty of and over our subjects and inhabitants there, to have, hold, possess, and enjoy, the said island, and all and singular other the premises hereinbefore granted unto them, the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, their successors

Re-granted to
the East-India
Company,

with all royal
ties.

The Company
constituted
Lords Proprietors of St. Helena, reserving to the Crown the due faith and allegiance of the Company and inhabitants.

and assigns for ever, to the only use of them, the said Governour

To be holden in
the same man-
ner as East
Greenwich, in
the county of
Kent.

and Company, and their assigns for ever more, to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as of the maner of East-Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and common socage, and in capite not by

Knight's service : And know yee further, that Wee, of our more especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meer motion, have given, granted, and confirmed, and by these presents do give, grant, and confirm unto the said Governour and Company, and their successors and assigns, to their own proper use and benefitt, all that artillery, and all and singular arms, weapons, and ordinances, munition, powder, and shott, victuals, magazines, stores, ammunition, and provision of war, and other provisions whatever, and singular ships, vessels, and boats, and all manner of merchandize and wares, clothing, implements, beasts, cattle, horses and mares, which are or remaine upon or within the premises, or any part thereof, and belonging unto us in any manner or wise ; and Wee are pleased, and do by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, that for the better supply of the said island (being a place of no trade or traffique), and of the castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, collonies, and plantations, erected and placed, and to be erected and placed, in or upon the said island, or within the premises or limmitts thereof, and of the inhabitants, to send of this kingdom to the said island, and to the castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, collonies, plantations, and inhabitants thereof, all kinde of clothing, provisions, victuals, ammunition, ordinance, and supplyments necessary for such purpose, without paying any custom, subsidy, or other duty for the same ; as also to transport and carry over such number of men being willing thereunto, as they shall think fitt ; and forasmuch as Wee have made such grant of the said island and premises to the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and their successors, as before is mentioned, it is therefore needfull such powers, and premises, and jurisdictions, be granted unto them as be requisite for the good government and safety thereof, and of the inhabitants thereof: Know yee therefore further, that, reposing especiall trust and confidence in their

fidelitie, justis, wisdome, provident circumspection, have granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and their successors, that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London for the time being, or the major part of them present at any publique assembly, commonly called the Generall Court for the said Company, the Governour of the said Company, or Deputy, being alwaies one, or for the said Governour, or his Deputy, or Committees, for the time being, or the major part of them, present att any assembly commonly called the Generall Court of Committees holden for the said Company, the Governour or his Deputy likewise being alwaies one, from time to time, ordain, make, establish, and under their common seal to publish any laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions whatsoever, for the government
 Company's legislative powers,
 and other use of the said island and premises and the inhabitants thereof; and the same, or any of them, againe and from time to time to revoak, abrogate, and change, as they in their directions shall think fitt and convenient; and also to impose, limitt, and provide such pains, punishments, and penalties, by fines, amerciaments, imprisonments of body, and, where the quality of the offence shall require, by taking away life and member, as to the said Governour
 to the extent of life and limb;
 and Company for the time being, or the majority of them present at any such Generall Court, or to the said Governour, or his Deputy, or Committees of the said Company, or the major part of them present at any such Court of Committees as aforesaid, the said Governour or his Deputy being alwaies one, shall seem necessary, requisite, and convenient for the observation of the same laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances, and for the punishment of offenders against the same; so alwaies as the said laws, constitutions, orders, ordinances, pains, punishments, and penalties, be consonant to reason, and not repugnant or contrary, but as neer as may be agreeable to the laws of this our realme of England, and subject to the
 provided they be not contrary to the spirit of the laws of England.
 saveings therein contained. And also of our further especiall grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, We do by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, give and grant unto the said Governour and Company,

and their successors, that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Governour, or his Deputy, and the said Committees of the said Company for the time being, or the major part of them, at any of their said Courts, commonly called the Court of Committees, holden for the said Company

Power to appoint Governours and other Ministers.

from time to time to nominate, make, and constitute, and ordain, and confirm by such name or names, stile or stiles, as to them shall seem good, such Governour or Governours, or Ministers, cheife factors, and agents, or other factors and agents, as shall be by them thought fitt and needfull to be made and used for the government, and other use and uses of the said island St. Helena, and of the castles, forts, fortifications, and other the premises hereby granted, and such Governour or Governours, Officers and Ministers, Factors or Agents, at their directions to revoake, discharge, alter, and change, and also to discharge, alter, and change, all and singular the Governour and Governours, Officers and Ministers, as heretofore have bin by us made and appointed for the government and other use of the island St. Helena, or any of the forts, fortifications, limmitts, or presincts therefore; and Wee are also pleased, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant unto the said Governour and Company, and their succesors, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governour, or his Deputy, and Committees of the Company for the time being, or the major part of them, by themselves, or by their Governour or Governours, Officers or Ministers, Factors and Agents, to be ordained and appointed as aforesaid, according to the nature and limmitts of their respective offices and places

Judicial powers.

within the said island St. Helena, the territories and presincts thereof, to correct, punish, govern, and rule, all and every the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, that now do, or any time hereafter shall, inhabit within the said island and presincts thereof, according to such laws, ordinances, orders, and constitutions, as by the said Governour and Company at any Generall Court, or Court of Committees, as aforesaid, shall be established, and to do all and every other thing and things which to the complete establishment of justice doth belong, by court sessions of judicature, and manners of proceedings thereunto like unto those established and used in our realme of England. Altho' in these presents express mention be not

made thereof, and by Judges, and by their Officers, by them, the said Governour, or his Deputy, and Committees of the said Company, or the major part of them, or by the said chief Governour or Governours of the said island St. Helena, to be delegated to award process, hold please, judge and determine all actions, suits, and causes whatsoever, of any kind or nature, and to execute all and every such judgments, alwaies the said laws, ordinances, and proceedings be reasonable, and not repugnant or contrary, but as neer as may be to the laws, statuts, governments, and policy, of our kingdom of England, and subject to the saveings herein; and Wee do also confirme and grant unto the said Governour and Company, and their successors, as also to all and every such Governour or Governours, or Officers, Ministers, and Commanders, as shall be appointed by the said Governour, or his Deputy, or Committees of the said Company as aforesaid, to have power and authority of government and command in and over the said port and island, and they and every of them shall and lawfully may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, for their several defence and safety, encounter, expell, repell, resist, subdue, ~~retayne~~,
Military powers.
 and possess, by force of armes, as well by sea as

by land, and by all waies and means whatsoever, all and every such person or persons whatsoever as without the special licence and authority of us, our heirs and successors, or of the said Governour and Company, or their successors, shall attempt to inhabit within the presincts and limmitts of the said island, and also every such person or persons whatsoever as shall enterprize or attempt any destruction or invasion, hurt, detriment, or annoyances thereunto, or to our subjects inhabiting within the same, or any part thereof, or to them, or any of their goods, merchandize, interests, property, or estates whatsoever; and Wee do further, for us, our heirs and successors, hereby declare, ordayne, and grant, that such principall Governours of the said island as shall from time to time be duly authorised and appointed, in manner aforesaid, shall have full powers and authority in their respective places and charges, to use and exercise all such powers and authorities in their respective places, in such cases of rebellion, mutiny, or sedition, of refusing to serve in wars, flying to the enemye, forsakeing the collours, or en-

signes, or other officers, law, custom, and disaplene military, in as large and ample a manner, to all intents and purposes

Governor to
have the power
of Captain-Ge-
neral.

whatsoever, as any Captain-General of our army, by virtue of his office, have used and accustomed, and may or might do ; and of our more especiall grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, Wee do, for us, our heirs and successors, further ordaine and grant, that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Governour of the said Company, or his Deputy, for the time being, or the appointment of the major part of the Committees for the said Company, assembled in any of their said Courts, commonly called their Courts of Committee, from time to time, and at all times

Power to admi-
nister oaths.

hereafter, to administer such a formal legall oath as by their directions shall be reasonably devised unto any person or persons to be employed in, for, or concerning the said island St. Helena, or any part thereof, as well for the true and faithful execution and performance of their respective offices and employments, as also for the rendering a just, true, and perfect account of writeing of all such goods, monies, and other things, as by reason of their said offices and employments, shall come to their respective hands, unto the said Governour and Company, to such person or persons as shall be by them appointed to take the same account ; and also to all Governours, Officers, Ministers, Agents, Factors, of what nature soever, or by what title soever they shall be called, which shall be lawfully sent or placed in the said island St. Helena, as well for the good government thereof, and the inhabitants there, as for the ordering, safe keeping, and true accoumpting of and for all such laws, goods, profitts, commoditties, matters, and things, whatsoever, as shall be committed to their charge, or any of their government, charge, care, and custody ; and also to such persons as the Governour, or said Deputy, with the major part of the said Committees, for the time being, shall think meet for the examination of, or clearing the truth in, any case whatsoever concerning the said Company, and relating to the said island St. Helena, or concerning any prisoner from thence proceeding, or thereunto belonging ; and Wee do, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Governour and Company, and their successors, that the chief Governour or Governours resident in the said island, of what

names or title soever they be called, shall have the like power to minister a formall and legall oath to all other officers and inferior ministers whatsoever, on the said island St. Helena, for the just, true, and faithfull discharge of their severall places, duties, and services, as also unto any other person or persons whatsoever, for the examination, satisfying, and clearing the truth, in any cause, as well concerning the said island St. Helena as any other particular business there arising, for the maintaining and administration of peace and justice amongst the inhabitants of the said island, or any other person in that place; and our pleasure is, and Wee do, for us, our heirs and successors, declare by these presents, that all and every the persons being our subjects, which do or shall inhabit within the said port or island, and every their children and posterity which shall happen to be borne within the presincts thereof, shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, immunities, capacities, and abilities, of franchises and natural subjects within any of our dominions, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and borne within this our realme of England, or in any of our dominions; and, lastly, our will and pleasure is, and Wee do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, ordain and grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, that these our letters patents, and all and singular grants and causes therein containyed, shall be and continue firme, strong, and sufficient, and available in the law, and shall be containyed, reputed, and taken, as well to the meaning and intent as to the words of the same, most graciously and honourably for the best advantage and benefit of the said Governour and Company, and their successors, although express mention be not made herein of the true yearly value and certainty of the premises, or any part thereof, or of any other gifts or grants made by us, or any of our ancestors, or predecessors, to them the said Governour and Company, or any other person or persons whatsoever, or any omission or defect herein, or any law, statut, act, provision, order, ordinance, published, ordayned, or provided, or any other cause, matter, or thinge whatsoever to the contrary thereof, or in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof, We have caused

Natives of St.
Helena to be
free denizens of
England.

these our letters patent to be made, witness ourselve at Westminster, the 16th day of December, in the five-and-twentieth yeare of our reigne.

By writt of Privy Seal,

(Signed) PIGOTT.

(C).

Extract from the first Commission of Government after the Recapture of the Island by Sir Richard Munden.

By the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East-Indies, at a Court of Committee holden the 19th December, in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., Anno Domini 1673.

Whereas, upon notice given us of the reducement of the island St. Helena, by Sir Richard Munden, Knt., Commander of a squadron of ships, sent for by the King's most excellent Majesty, We, attending his Majesty, to know his pleasure, whether the said island should be continued under his Majesty's immediate government and charge, or what directions his Majesty would be pleased to give therein; and his Majesty having thereupon signified his royal pleasure that the island should be under our government, and to our use, and to be maintained at our charge, and accordingly by his letters patent under the great seal of England, bearing date the 16th of this instant month of December, have granted and confirmed to us, the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East-Indies, and our successors, the said island St. Helena, and thereof made and constituted us the free and absolute Lords and Proprietors, with power and authority to give such rules and directions for the good government of the said island as to us shall seem

meet; a copy whereof shall either accompany these, or soon after be sent you, and we, having taken into consideration how we might best settle the said island for its future safety and preservation, and taking notice of the several persons that were left by the said Sir Richard Munden on the said island, and of the wages and pay which they were entertained at when admitted into his Majesty's service, mentioned in a list herewith transmitted, all which persons we have taken into our pay from the 15th day of May, 1673, being the time of their landing at our island, until they shall be discharged from our service; and we having, for the ends aforesaid, thought fit to entertain in our service several other persons, to make provisions of ammunition, victuals, stores, and other things, which are sent by the two ships we have hired for their transportation, viz. the European, Captain James Potter, commander, and the John and Alexander, Mr. Samuel Riecard, commander, a list of whose names, and invoice of the goods, and bills of lading, are herewith also sent: Now know all persons, that, in pursuance of the authority to us granted as aforesaid, and for the good government of the said island, we have made and ordained, and by these presents make, and ordain, and constitute Captain Richard Field to be Governor of the said island, Captain Anthony Beale to be Deputy-Governor, the Lieutenants of the two companies of foot on the said island for the time being, Francis Moore, John Colstons, and Richard Swallow, to be of our Council for the said island, and to take place in Council in the order they are here named; which said Governor and Council for the time being, and in the absence of our Governor, his Deputy, and our said Council, or any three of them, whereof the Governor or his Deputy to be always one, are, under us, to have and exercise the chief command and authority in the said island, in all matters whatsoever, and unto whom all the people and persons there residing, of what quality or condition soever, are to give and yield due obedience. And forasmuch as it is altogether necessary that, in case of the death or remove of the said Captain Richard Field, before or after these presents shall come unto you, the said island should be provided for the government thereof, sooner than at so great a distance we can be advertized of his death, or remove, and appoint another to

succeed in the place of Governor, we have thought fit to ordain and appoint, that in case of his death or remove, the before-named Captain Beale shall succeed in the place of Governor of the said island; and in case of the death or remove as well of the said Captain Anthony Beale as well as of the said Captain Field, then we do constitute and appoint our Council of the said island (for the time being), or any three or more of them, to be our chief commissioners for executing the place and office of Governor of the said island, in as full and ample a manner, and with the same powers as are hereby granted unto the said Captain Field or Captain Beale, to continue until the contrary shall be signified under the Company's seal.

(D.)

System of Laws in force upon the island of St. Helena previous to the introduction of Military Courts, in the year 1754, and Courts of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery.

Preamble.

WE, the Governor and Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, at our Court of Committees holden for the said Company, have made and ordained and do by these presents make, ordain, constitute, and appoint Governor and Council of and for the said island, for the time being, or the major part of them, under us, to have and exercise the supreme command, power, and authority in the said port or island of St. Helena, in all causes and matters whatsoever; unto whom the people and persons there residing or inhabiting, of what quality or condition soever, are to give and yield due obedience; and, for the prevention of all oppression, disorder, and irregular proceedings, that there may be some known rules for government and people to walk by, we have ordained, and do by these presents make, ordain, constitute, and appoint, the several laws, rules, orders, directions, and forms of proceeding, hereafter mentioned and expressed, to be carefully and punctually observed in the said island of St. Helena, and the territories and places thereunto belonging.

Powers of Council.

We do direct, order, and appoint, that the Lord's Day be religiously observed by abstinence from all bodily and secular employments, as also from all gaming, and other unlawful pastimes; and that our Governor and Council take care not only to appoint one, or more, public place or places, for the worship of God, whither all persons may resort to, attend, and join in the public exercise of religious duties, as prayer, reading the word, hearing of sermons, and, on occasions and at fit times, the administration of both the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; but also by their presence to encourage the Minister or Ministers in the discharge of his or their duties, and the people in their attendance on the ordinances; and that all be done with due reverence, and with decency and order; and if that there shall happen to be no Minister upon the said island, yet they shall in solemn manner assemble together on the Lord's Day; and in such case the Governor and his Council shall cause some part or portion of the Holy Scripture, and some godly sermons to be read, with prayer, and such other duties, to be performed as they in their Christian prudence shall think fit.

Religious and strict observation of the Lord's Day; the Governor and Council to give the example.

That in public the Minister, or such as discharge the duty of prayer in absence of a Minister, to be mindful to pray for our Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty, the peace, happiness, and prosperity of his kingdoms, as also for the good and welfare of the English East-India Company; and also that in the public assembly, every Lord's Day, at such times as may be most convenient, the creed commonly called the Apostles' Creed, or sometimes, in place, the creed commonly called Athanasius' Creed, as also the ten Commandments of the moral law, out of the 20th chapter of Exodus, together with the summary thereof, as it is contained in the 22d chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, 37, 38, 39, and 40th verses, to be read unto the people.

To pray for our King and kingdoms, and the Honourable Company's welfare.

That when there is a Minister resident on the island, the Minister, once in every week, either some time on the Lord's Day, or on some other day, shall catechise the youths and younger people in public, at the

The Minister to catechise the children weekly.

public place of worship, and then to open and expound the doctrine of the true religion, that so the people may be well grounded in the principle and doctrine of faith, and be able to give a reason of their hope, and on good grounds to maintain their religion against all opposers and gainsayers. The time for the said catechising shall be appointed by our said Governor and Council to be present. Governor and Council, who are to be present thereat, if not hindered by necessary affairs.

We do direct and appoint that all and every person or persons that shall profane the Lord's Day, by travelling, working, gaming, or any other unlawful pastime, shall, for the first offence, be only reprov'd and admonish'd; but every such offence afterwards shall be fin'd, not exceeding the value of five shillings for one offence.

Swearing. That all swearing, and taking the name of God in vain, be carefully avoided: if any person, after he be once admonish'd for that fault, shall offend by swearing, he shall be fin'd, not exceeding one shilling for one offence.

Drunkenness. That all intemperance and drinking be abstain'd from. If any shall drink to drunkenness, for the first offence he shall be admonish'd, and if after admonition he or she shall offend again, then they shall be fin'd, not exceeding five shillings for one offence; it being intended that if any person of quality (who should be examples to others) be guilty, that they may pay a greater fine than persons of a meaner rank.

Lewdness. That all fornication, uncleanness, and adultery, be forborne; and if any should offend, and be convicted of the crime, that in such case (until it be otherwise provided) our Governor and Council do take care to discountenance and punish the same in such a way as shall be by them found most efficacious, and not contrary to the laws and statutes of the kingdom of England.

Stealing. That none do steal, or take from another, that which do not belong unto him; and if in case of theft,

by taking away by force or threats from any person, whereby they might be put to fear, or by breaking open any house, or room, or cupboard, or trunk, that was locked, the party convicted thereof shall not only restore what he or they took away to the party from whom he or they stole the same, but also three times the value thereof, and the rest of his estate whatever (after his debts paid) shall be forfeited to the Company, and shall stand in pillory, in a public place, and be whipped from thence to prison, and that he be there left to the discretion of the Governor and Council either to discharge or make work at the fortifications of the island; and if it be any other kind of thievery, and the party convicted, he or she shall return what he or she stole, and three times the value more, to the person from whom he or she stole the same; and in case of inability, he or she shall be forced to work for that person till the same be by work made up.*

If any person called, or tendering himself, to be a witness, in any case shall witness falsely, through malice or coveteousness, or on any other account (unless it shall appear to be merely through mistake, and in some circumstances not much material to the thing in question), and shall be thereof convicted, the same damage, pain, or prejudice, that his testimony (had it been true and received) would have procured, or did procure (excepting death), to any other party, he shall be adjudged to sustain, and for ever his witness and testimony shall be deemed and adjudged invalid, to all intents and purposes; and if it appears that such witness was suborned, then both the witness and the person that suborned him to be equally liable to make satisfaction, and shall both stand in the pillory.

If any person shall counterfeit any deed, deeds, writing, or other papers, or by any device cheat another of any lands, goods, or money, and thereof be convicted, he shall

False witness.
Forgery.

*This law was abrogated in the year 1717, upon which occasion the Company transmitted the following order:—

“ In all cases wherein we have not given particular directions touching punishments of body or purse, keep yourselves as near as may be to the laws of England, for whatsoever exceeds will be accounted arbitrary.”

make satisfaction to the party injured, and shall also be fined the like sum to the Company, and to stand in the pillory three public days; and, in case of nonability to make satisfaction, or pay the fine, he shall be obliged to work for the party injured, in the first place, and then for the Company, gratis, such time as shall be adjudged sufficient to satisfy the said sums.

Quarreling. In case any person shall quarrel with another, not being his servant, or under his command, or strike or wound him, the party offending shall make satisfaction to the party injured, and, over and besides, shall also be fined, to the use of the Company, for the breach of the peace, and the said fine shall not exceed twenty shillings for any one offence.

Striking an Officer. In case any shall strike an Officer, being about the execution of his office, he shall be fined at discretion, not exceeding five pounds, or to be publicly whipt, or imprisoned, unless the Governor, with the consent of the major part of the Council, shall think good to pardon; and shall, moreover, pay treble charges to the Officer injured.

Directions for preserving the public peace. And for the better preserving the peace of the island, and keeping all persons in due subordination, and securing the island against enemies, we do ordain, direct, and appoint, that no person whatsoever shall imprison, or lay violent hands on, or strike, the Governor, or any of his superior Officers, or Ministers, or attempt, or conspire so to do, and in case any shall offend therein, and be thereof convicted, he shall suffer such corporal punishment (not extending to the taking away life) as the Governor, with the advice and consent of the major part of his military Officers, shall adjudge, according to the nature of the offence; and, in case of striking the Governor, he also shall forfeit to the Company all his lands, and tenements, goods, and chattles.

Officers' or soldiers' neglect of duty. That if any Captain, Officer, or soldier, in the Company's service, in the said island, shall neglect his duty, and be thereof convicted, by the testimony of two witnesses upon oath, he or they shall be fined by the Governor,

to the use of the Company, not exceeding one month's pay ; and shall also suffer such corporal punishment as the Governor, with the advice and consent of the major part of his military Officers, shall adjudge the matter to deserve.

If any shall embezzle, or steal, any powder, shot, Embezzling ammunition. ammunition, or other stores, and sell the same, both the persons so embezzling and stealing, as also the abettors, buyers, and receivers thereof, shall be liable, over and above the penalties hereinbefore appointed in cases of theft, to be imprisoned not exceeding six months, or to suffer such other corporal punishment as the Governor, with the advice and consent of the major part of his council, shall adjudge the matter to deserve.

We strictly enjoin, that no person inhabiting the island, not being officers or soldiers, be permitted to wear any swords, it being, by the custom of all nations, an unallow- Inhabitants to wear no swords. able thing in frontier garrisons ; and we think it may not be very proper for your private soldiers to wear swords, in such a drinking place as St. Helena is, except when they are upon duty ; and if any of the inhabitants neglect this order you may fine them one shilling for the first offence, two shillings for the second, and so on unto five shillings, toties quoties ; but your Officers are not to be any where without Who must, or may, wear swords. their swords : they ought to forfeit five shillings to the Company for each offence in that kind ; whether to extend this order so far as Serjeants and Corporals we leave to your discretion ; but considering you have sober Officers, we think it may not be amiss to permit Serjeants and Corporals to the privilege of wearing swords, hoping you will choose the soberest men into those offices ; and whosoever of the inhabitants, officers, or soldiers, or any be- Passengers that draw swords in anger, 20s. fine. longing to, or passengers on board of any ship, shall presume to draw a sword shall forfeit and pay twenty shillings, the one moiety to the Company, and the other to the necessary fortifications.

In case of wilful murder, the party convicted by Murder
 a jury shall suffer death ; the manner of his death

shall be at the discretion of the Governor and Council, agreeable to the laws of England.

Mutiny and
sedition are
capital offences.

That if any Captain, Officer, soldier, or mariner, that have entertained themselves in the Company's service, in or at the said island, or any inhabitant thereof, or any person or persons that shall come to the said island, shall raise sedition, and make or abett any mutiny, or shall contrive or endeavour either himself, or to entice or corrupt any other Officer, soldier, or mariner, or inhabitant, or any other person whatsoever, to fire or destroy, or to yield and deliver up any fort, ship, or vessel, or magazine, in or at the said island, to any enemy whatsoever, such Captain, Officer, soldier, mariner, inhabitant, or other person, being thereof duly convicted by a jury, shall be sentenced to suffer death, and to forfeit and lose all his estate to the use of the Company; which sentence shall be executed accordingly, unless the Governor, with the advice and consent of the major part of his Military Officers, shall pardon, or remit, any part of the same.

Insurrection
and rebellion.

In case any person or persons shall make any insurrection, or gather together in an hostile manner, without the especial command of the Governor, or of such who have authority from him, or shall not, upon command from the Governor, lay down their arms, and submit to the ordinary justice; as also if any person or persons shall contrive to betray, or deliver up, the island, or any fort, castle, port, or place therein, or any ships or vessels belonging to the English, into the hands of any other people or nation, or, in order thereunto, shall hold intelligence or correspondency with any that are declared enemies to the English, and shall be legally convicted, by a jury of twelve men, of any of the said crimes, he or they shall be sentenced to suffer death, and forfeit all their estates; which sentence shall be executed accordingly, unless the Governor, with the advice and consent of the major part of the Council, shall, on good considerations, think fit to pardon, or remit, any part thereof.*

* The laws annexing capital punishments to mutiny, sedition, insurrection, and rebellion, were abrogated, in the year 1705, by an order that no person should suffer death, except only for wilful murder.

The following order was transmitted in the third paragraph of the Court of Directors' letter to St. Helena, dated 1683.

“ But in case of the taking away of life, limb, or lands, we would have you proceed according to that method by “ juries.”

N. B. Some additional ordinances were promulged, or republished, in the year 1709; for particulars respecting which see Appendix, (H).

(E.)

*Laws and Orders, constituted for the Negro Slaves, by the inhabitants of the island, with the approbation of the Governor and Council.**

THAT no Black or Blacks, upon any pretence whatsoever, shall wander from his master's plantation, upon Sundays, without a lawful occasion granted by their said masters or mistresses, either by writing, or some other token that shall be known by the neighbourhood, upon the penalty of ten lashes on his naked body for the first offence, fifteen for the second, twenty for the third, and so for every offence thereafter committed: but if the master of the said slave or slaves should refuse to comply with this said order, and the person who shall have taken the said slave or slaves acting contrary to this said order, shall be obliged to complain to the Governor and Council, whom we desire to fine him or them that shall so offend at discretion.

Against wandering on Sundays.

That Negro, or Negroes, that shall be known to steal the value of eighteen pence, shall have

For pilfering and stealing.

* The author cannot ascertain the exact period when the laws were framed and published; but it must have been either in Governor Field's time, or in the early part of Mr. Blackmore's government.

twenty lashes on their naked body, inflicted by the master or masters of such slave or slaves, in the presence of the person so offended; but if the theft should amount to three shillings, the lashes aforesaid are to be increased to thirty; and if six shillings, to sixty; and the party so prejudiced shall receive the value of the thing so stolen in specie, or in money, from the owner of the said slave or slaves; and if the theft amounts to above six shillings, and under thirty shillings, the offender shall be seized, and brought to the fort, where he shall immediately receive fifty lashes on his naked body, and secured; two days after, he shall receive thirty lashes, and two days after that, twenty more; and the master of the Black shall pay the value stolen, as before.

Absentees and
runaways.

Those that shall absent their masters' service three days and three nights, shall be punished according to the last foregoing article, and the master make satisfaction for what they have stolen as aforesaid.

For breaking
open houses.

For the first offence of this kind, the master or masters shall make satisfaction for what is stolen, and repair all damages done by the slave or slaves; so soon as taken, shall be brought to the fort, and immediately receive, on his naked body, one hundred lashes, then secured; four days after that, thirty; six days after that, twenty more, and branded in the forehead with the letter R: for the second offence in this kind, he shall be punished as abovesaid, and wear, for one year, a chain and clogg of thirty pounds weight; and for the third offence, satisfaction shall be made as abovesaid to the loser or losers, and the slave or slaves shall suffer death, at the discretion of the Governor and Council.

In relation to
striking or
assaulting any
white person.

In case any male slave, from the age of sixteen years and upwards, shall presume and attempt to strike or assault any white person whatsoever, correcting him or otherwise, for any cause whatsoever, shall, for the said offence or offences (though without weapon or dangerous instrument) undergo and suffer the punishment of castration, that is to say, shall have his testicles cut out; and in case

any such slave or slaves shall chance to die under the punishment aforesaid, or before he be well, then the country and public shall bear the loss, and make good the value of the said Black, with the charge of castration to the master or owner of the said slave or slaves, according to an appraisement made by the Governor and Council for the time being: further, but in case the said slave or slaves should die through neglect of the master or owner, then, upon proof thereof, the said master or owner to bear their own loss of the said slave or slaves, and the whole charge of every thing relating thereto; and if the said slave live, the master to be at all charges.

That if any Negro slave, male or female, shall presume to resist any white person whatsoever, in the taking or pursuit of them upon any lawful occasion, the slave or slaves so offending and resisting as aforesaid, for the first offence shall be immediately conveyed to the great fort, and secured till they have undergone double punishment, according to the constitution of runaway Negroes, and branded in the forehead with the letter R; and for a second offence in this nature, the said slave or slaves so offending shall suffer the same punishment as is adjudged and ordered in the case of striking or assaulting any white person, to wit, to be castrated, if a male, but if a female, to be severely whipped, as aforesaid, and both ears to be cut off, and branded in the forehead and both cheeks.

In relation to those that shall give saucy language, resist, or oppose, or strike, any white person.

And in case any slave or slaves, male or female, shall presume to strike any white person whatsoever, with any weapon, the said slave or slaves so offending shall suffer death; except those white persons who demean and debase themselves in conversing, corresponding, and gaming, with the blacks, as if they were equals, which we judge shall have no more benefit of those laws than Blacks themselves.

And in case any Negro slave, male or female, shall presume to give any saucy or impertinent language or answer to any white person (except those white persons aforesaid), shall, upon complaint thereof to the master or owners of the said slave, be

severely whipt, in the presence of the party offended, to his satisfaction; and if the said master or owner of the said slave shall refuse, or neglect, to punish the said slave so offending, then the party offended may complain to the Governor, and so cause the said slave to be apprehended, and conveyed to the fort, and punished according to the nature of the offence.

Against one
Black barter-
ing with an-
other.

That no Negro slave or slaves shall truck, barter, or exchange any thing, without the foreknowledge and consent of the owners of the said Negroes, both the sellers and buyers, deliverers and receivers, of any commodity whatsoever, to the value of one shilling, upon the penalty of twenty lashes, or more if it should exceed that value, according to the judgment of the Governor and Council, severely to be inflicted on them at the flagstaff, upon the complaint of any one aggrieved by such a clandestine way of one Negro dealing with another.

Against any
white person
trucking or
bartering with
Blacks.

That no white person whatsoever shall truck, barter, or exchange any commodity whatsoever, with any Negro or Negroes, to sell to them, nor buy of them, any sort of commodity, without the foreknowledge and consent of the owners of the said Negro or Negroes, upon the penalty of being adjudged accessory to felony, and so consequently liable to a fourfold restitution to the owners of the said Negro or Negroes, besides a fine to the Lords Proprietors; nor no Negro shall alienate any commodity or thing whatsoever, to any white person whatsoever, without the leave and consent of the said Negroes' master or mistress before had, upon the penalty of severe correction, according to the judgment of the Governor and Council.

No Black to
prescribe phy-
sic to each
other.

That no Negro whatsoever shall prescribe or administer any physic or medicine whatsoever, to any Negro or Negroes, without the consent of his or their master or mistress of that Negro unto whom he shall prescribe or administer any physic or medicine, upon the penalty of severe correction, according to the judgment of the Governor and Council; neither shall any Negro whatsoever take or

receive any physic or medicine, or follow the rules or prescription of any pretended black Doctor whatsoever, without acquainting their master or mistress therewith, upon the penalty of the like pain and punishment as the black Doctor who pretends to physic is liable to.

(F.)

A copy of a clause, in another Charter from King Charles the Second, dated 9th August, 1683, in the 35th of his reign.

AND also, that the said Governor, and Deputy-Governor, and Court of the said Company, for the time being, or the major part of them, duly assembled, shall have full power, licence, and authority, to name and appoint Governors and officers, from time to time, in the said forts, and factories, and plantations; which said Governor and officers shall have, and by these presents We do, for our heirs and successors, give them full power and authority to raise, arm, train, and muster, such military forces as to them shall seem requisite and necessary, and to execute and use, within the said plantations, forts, and places, the law, called the Martial Law, for the defence of the said forts, places, and plantations, against any foreign invasion, or domestic insurrection or rebellion, or to follow such orders, directions, and instructions, as from time to time shall be given them by the Governor, and Deputy-Governor, and Court of the said Company, or the major part of them, the sovereign right, power, and dominion, over all the said forts, places, and plantations, to be at any time settled in the parts aforesaid.

(G.)

Petition of Coulston's four daughters to the House of Commons.

THE most deplorable case of the poor distressed planters in the island St. Helena, under the cruel oppressions of the East-

India Company, humbly presented to the charitable consideration of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled, by Elizabeth, Martha, Grace, and Sarah, the mournful daughters of John Coulston, who was one of those that was murdered by a pretended court-martial at that place.

For the invitation of people to go over and inhabit St. Helena, the East-India Company promised to give each family twenty acres of land, and two cows, and that they should be free from all charges, duties, and impositions whatsoever, excepting sixpence for every ten acres of land, to be paid for repairing the church, and obliging them to take their turns of watching for the safety of the island.

Upon these encouragements sundry persons did transplant themselves thither, with their families, and lived comfortably till the year 1683, when Sir Josiah Child had worked himself into the sole dispose and management of all the Company's affairs; and then there was sent over one Robert Holden, to be Deputy-Governor, who was a man of a very evil reputation among all that knew him, and he brought orders for laying several impositions upon the planters, which, in the whole, amounted to more than the real value of their lands.

	£.	s.	d.
For every working slave, per ann. - - - - -	0	10	6
Ditto head of cattle - - - - -	0	1	0
Ditto head in each family, per ann. - - - - -	0	0	6
Ditto ten acres of land, to highways - - - - -	0	0	9
Ditto ten ditto, for duties - - - - -	0	10	0
Ditto beast sold on ship board - - - - -	0	0	6
Ditto all callicoes bought for use, per piece - - - - -	0	0	6
Ditto all strong liquors, per gallon - - - - -	0	0	2
Ditto all silks and stuffs for use, per piece - - - - -	0	0	6
Ditto all sugars, per cwt. - - - - -	0	0	2

The imposing copper bars on them for money, and then refusing taking them again; the settling a price upon their beef, compelling them to sell at those rates; making them pay

two hundred per cent. advance for all necessities they had occasion to buy from the Company's stores.

The most unjust and intolerable impositions being peremptorily demanded of the planters, by the aforesaid Holden, they answered, Their contract with the Company was to be free from all charges and duties whatsoever, and that they thought such hard things could not be put upon the King's subjects: to which the said Holden reply'd, That they were not now the King of England's, but the Company's subjects, for that they had transported themselves to that place where the King of England had nothing to do with them. These words were spoken in the presence of several of the planters, and also of one Dennison, a soldier, who therefore accused Holden, to Major Blackmore, the Governor, of treason against the King; but the Governor, instead of calling Holden to an account, committed Dennison to prison, and put him in irons.

Upon these strange and arbitrary proceedings, several of the planters, and some of the soldiers, in all about sixty persons, one of whom carried a flag they made, in imitation of the union flag, to signify they thought themselves still the King's subjects, but none having any weapons, save their walking-staves, except three or four soldiers with their musquets, came down to the fort to desire the Governor to discharge Dennison, and secure Holden; but he gave them no other answer than his command to begone; and they still resisting, to desire justice, the Governor ordered both the great and small shot to be fired upon them, which killed three, and wounded fourteen, upon which the rest dispersed, and returned to their respective homes. The next night, the Governor sent a file of musqueteers to the house of William Bowyer, who, when they came, was in bed with his wife; and several of his friends sleeping in the next room, at whom the soldiers fired through the windows, killed one, and wounded another, and presently entered the house, seizing the said Bowyer, and one Clark, with four others, whom they carried prisoners to the fort; and at their first appearance before the Governor, he asked Bowyer whether

he was for a King or no King ; to which Bowyer replied, " For the King, as long as I live, Sir ;"—" Then," says the Governor, " put the biggest irons on him." Some time after, the ship *Royal James* arrived here, when the Governor and Holden took upon themselves the authority of erecting a court for the trial of the said prisoners, making a jury of half of the Company's soldiers and half of the ship's company, who found Bowyer and the rest guilty of a riot, but no judgment was pronounced against them till some time after the ship had sailed for Europe, when, without any farther trial, the said Bowyer and Clark were hanged by the neck until they were dead.

The Governor and Holden had sent, by the said ship *Royal James*, a large account of all that had passed of these matters to the East-India Company in London ; who, finding by the aforesaid verdict that their design of having the lives of the poor people at their disposal could not be done by a jury, some of them prevailed with the late King (Charles II.) to grant them a commission for a court-martial, which was sent out about seven months after.

Sir John Wybourn, who, with the Governor, the aforesaid Holden, and three or four others, were appointed Judges, and they accordingly tried (as they pretended), and condemned to death, fourteen persons more, without the pretence of any other crime than the before-mentioned coming to demand justice against Holden for his treasonable words against the King, which they were pleased to call rebellion ; and when the wives and relations of those unhappy men made their petition to Sir John Wybourn to spare their lives, he answered, "Twas not in his power ; for they were judged and condemned before he came out of England.

The names of the condemned were as follows:—Thomas Bolton, John Coulston, Job Jewster, William Butler, Edward Gardiner, Gabriel Powell, George Shelton, John Luskin, Matthew Powney, Robert Thompson, William Fox, John Stitch, Hugh Bodley, Leicester Sexton.

N. B. The execution of these poor men was in October, 1685.

Whereof the first five were, in a few days afterwards, hanged by the neck till they were dead; George Shelton was barbarously stifled to death in the prison; Gabriel Powell did happily make his escape to Europe, in the ship Rochester, lately arrived; and all the rest remain there under condemnation,

After they had thus taken away the lives of these poor men, it was moved by some of them that sat for their Judges, that all their lands and goods should be confiscated to the Company's use; but Major Blackmore, the Governor, who had been acquainted with their proceedings in martial law, declared against it; and upon the disclose of the debate it was resolved, that an exact account should be taken of all the effects, and seized as forfeited to them, for the aforesaid pretended rebellion, as was accordingly done.

And after these poor men were deprived of their lives, their distressed widows and fatherless children were reduced to the greatest distress and misery: besides those that were condemned to death, there was thirty more sentenced to have halters about their necks, and kneel down, and say, God save the King, and bless the Honourable Company, and we humbly thank the Court Martial for saving *our* lives; as was accordingly performed by them.

These are the bloody and cruel oppressions which the miserable inhabitants of St. Helena have suffered, who implore relief from this Honourable House, and humbly pray,

That those here, in England, who were concerned in procuring the aforesaid commission for a Court Martial from the late King (Charles the II^d.) may be brought to condign punishment; that Blackmore and Holden may be called home to answer the crimes they have committed;

That the Company may be obliged to make restitution to the widows and relations of those who have been so illegally executed, to the full amount of all the lands and goods that have been so wrongfully taken from them; that a proper care be taken of the aforesaid poor men, who lie under condemnation; and that all the planters at St. Helena may be restored to their rights, and free from the aforesaid heavy impositions lately laid on them.

Total killed and wounded.—Three killed upon the spot, fourteen wounded by a gun from the Castle wall loaded with small bullets. One shot in a house by a musquet, and one wounded in the same house, at Great Bottom. Two hanged soon after (Bowyer and Clark) from the Castle wall. Five hanged about twelve months after, Boulton, Coulson, Jewster, Butler, and Gardiner. One stifled in prison, George Shelton.

(H.)

Ordinances promulged in 1709.

In addition to the laws noted in chapter the 5th, and not anteriorly mentioned, the following is a copy of the principal ordinances and regulations promulged or re-published in the year 1709 by the Governor and Council, with the concurrence of the inhabitants; as far as can be collected from the defaced and mutilated state of the book in which they were engrossed.

Goats. WE do order and strictly enjoin, that no person or persons whatsoever, do henceforward presume to go a hunting or shooting of wild or stray goats, upon any pretence whatever, without leave and lycence first obtained, under the Governor's hand and seale, which whoever shall obtain, must keep to and observe such rules, orders, and directions, as therein shall be expressed; and as to tame goats, we do fur-

ther declare, that no person or persons whatsoever, having any interest, share, or partnership, in any pound or flock of goats, do or shall presume to pound, or cause to be pounded, any goats therein, or milk, mark, or kill, any goats, or kids, without the privity, consent, or knowledge of all parties concerned, or the major part; and that none do drive or cause to be drove any strange flock to their own pound, upon any pretence of having some among them; but if it do happen that some strange goats get among their flocks, notice shall be given to the owners whose respective marks they beare; upon which notice the said owners are to fetch them, or cause them to be sent for away, next pounding after. Otherwise it shall be lawful for the partners of the pounds whereto they frequent, to kill and send them to their proper owners: and if any person or persons shall be found to offend, and act contrary hereunto, he, they, and every of them shall be accounted and adjudged as felons, and shall be prosecuted accordingly.

Whereas the game of the island hath been ^{Game.} of late very much destroyed, by many idle persons who afterwards betake themselves to an ill habit of life, neglecting their lawful employments. For remedy whereof, and the more effectual preservation of the game, we do strictly prohibit and forbid all and every person or persons whatsoever to go a shooting of, or by any other ways or means, as dogs, nets, snares, engines, or other instruments, to kill any partridges, guinea-hens, pidgeons, turtle-doves, or any other game, or take and destroy their young, or eggs (except such as shall be found within their own plantations), without leave and lycence under the Governor's hand, under pain of ten shillings for the first offence, to the Honourable Company; and for the second offence, to be severely fined and punished, at the Governor and Council's pleasure. (The Council always to go a shooting for their diversion.)

To prevent clandestine and unlawful marriages, we ^{Infants.} do order, that no person under the age of twenty-

one years, shall contract marriage without consent of their parents, or guardians, and Governor for the time being, if their parents be deceased; and that this order may be made public, that none may plead ignorance.

Forasmuch as many crafty and circumventing persons have and do clandestinely trade and traffick with the youth of the island for cattle, goods, and other merchandize, without the privity or consent of their parents, guardians, or the Governor, and taking advantage of their indiscretion, and want of judgment, buy for little or no consideration, thereby inveigling and seducing them to waste and embezzle their substance and effects, giving them encouragement to run into all manner of excess and riot, who afterwards continue their vitious habits, to their utter ruin and destruction; for remedy whereof, we do order, that no person whatsoever do deale, barter, traffick, or correspond, with any infant under the age of twenty-one years, without the consent of parents, guardians, or the Governor for the time being, upon the penalty of forty shillings to the Honourable Company

Orders.

For the preventing and punishing of tearing and defacing of orders, or proclamations, we do forbid all persons whatsoever from tearing, defacing, or taking down any orders, papers or proclamations, set up at any public place by order or leave of the Governor and Council, upon the penalty of four dollars, and such corporal punishment as the Governor and Council shall think fit.

Orphans.

We do order, that our Governor and Council shall hold a court yearly, or as often as occasion requires, for the settling of orphan's estates, or any thing to them belonging, or in any wise appertaining; and as to their estates, whatever money is paid on that account into our cash, we will, for the encouragement of the inhabitants, allow interest for such money from the time it appears here by our books that the same has been brought into our cash in credit of the concerned.

Whereas several idle, gossiping women, make it their business to go from house to house, about the island inventing and spreading false and scandalous reports of the good people thereof, and thereby sow discord and debate among neighbours, and often between men and their wives, to the great grief and trouble of all good and quiet people, and to the utter extinguishing of all friendship, amity, and good neighbourhood : for the punishment and suppression whereof, and to the intent that all strife may be ended, charity revived, and friendship continued, we do order, that if any woman from henceforwards shall be convicted of tale-bearing, mischief-making, scolding, drunkenness, or any other notorious vices, they shall be punished by ducking, or whipping, or such other punishments as their crimes or transgressions shall deserve, as the Governor and Council shall think fit.

Women.

We do absolutely enjoyn all and every person or persons inhabiting the said island, that, from henceforth, when they kill for their own use or others, or kill, exchange, or part with any kinde of beast, or cattle, as oxen, runts, steers, kine, heiffers, calves, sheep, lambs, goates, kids, hoggs, or piggs, they shall be obliged to repair to, or send for, and give notice thereof, to some person or persons warranted by the Governor to keep arms, who are hereby appointed and impowered to view, inspect, search, and examine, the ears, hide, and horns, of every beast so killed, or to be sold, whereby to be informed and satisfied that it hath the true and proper mark of the owner or possessor, and whose marke, and that the disposer or seller hath a property therein ; and, if any person or persons shall presume or endeavour fraudulently to hide or conceale any such sale or slaughter, and kill, or dispose of any beast, without notice given, and search made as aforesaid, otherwise than according to this law, and be thereof lawfully convicted, he, they, and every of them, shall be, and are hereby declared, and shall be deemed and adjudged as felons ; and the beast so concealed, not viewed, and unlawfully killed, or made away, shall be forfeited, the one half to the Honourable Company, and the other to the informer or prosecutor. And we do further declare, that any person or persons warranted by the

Cattle.

Governor to keep arms shall have power to enter into and search (as for stolen goods) the houses of all and every unlicensed persons whom they shall suspect, by circumstance or otherwise, fraudulently and clandestinely to kill any meat ; and where any flesh or skins of a beast shall be found, of which they can give no reasonable account how they came by the same, or produce the party of whom they bought the same, or shew credible witness of the sale thereof, he or they shall be subject to the forfeiture and penaltyes of clandestinely and feloniously killing a beast, as if thereof convicted. And we do hereby further declare, that when any person not licenced to keep any arms, shall kill, or any ways dispose of, any such beast, he, or they, shall be obliged to get two licenced to view and examine the marks ; but when any person having the Governor's warrant for arms, do kill, sell, or dispose of any, the testimony of one single person shall be sufficient. And we do further declare and enjoyn, that all and every inhabitant do, at the marking of their cattle, procure one or more sufficient witness to be then and there present ; but always the unlicensed persons to have two present, as witness of their actions, upon the penalty's aforesaid. And we do further declare, that the informer, or prosecutor, shall have, over and above the half of the beast forfeited, and clandestinely made away with, as abovesaid, half the fourfold, being part of the penalty inflicted on felons.

(I.)

Laws, Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, made by the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, as Lords and Proprietors of the island of St. Helena, for the better government of Slaves in the said island, and for their protection and relief, and to prevent the increase of slavery in the said island.

WHEREAS, by letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain, bearing date the sixteenth day of December, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of his Majesty King Charles the Second, his said Majesty granted to the Governor and Company

of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and their successors, all that the island of St. Helena, and thereof made and constituted them, the said Governor and Company, the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors, with power and authority, at any General Court, or Courts of Committees, holden for the said Company, to ordain, make, and establish, and under their common seal to publish, any laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, for the good government and other use of the said island and premises, and the inhabitants thereof; and the same, or any of them, again, from time to time, to revoke, abrogate, and change, as they in their discretion should think fit and convenient; and to impose, limit, and provide, such pains, punishments, and penalties, by fines, amerciaments, imprisonments of body, and, where the quality of the offence should require, by taking away life or member, as the said Governor and Company should see necessary for the observation of the same laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances, and for the punishment of offenders against the same; and by the Governor or Governors, Officers, and Ministers, by the said Company to be appointed, to correct, punish, govern, and rule, the inhabitants of the said island, according to the said laws and ordinances; and to do all things which to the compleat establishment of justice should belong, as by the said letters patent may more at large appear. And whereas the said island of St. Helena, and all and every the powers and authorities contained in the said recited letters patent, have been transferred unto, and are now vested in, the said United Company, in as full and ample manner and form as the same were granted to the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East-Indies: and whereas, by an instrument in writing, under the common seal of the said United Company, bearing date the twenty-sixth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, agreed to, and approved of, at and by a Court of Directors of the said Company, sundry laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, were made and established by the said Company, concerning the slaves in the said island of St. Helena: And whereas, upon re-considerating the said laws, orders, ordi-

nances, and constitutions, so made as aforesaid, concerning the said slaves, it is found necessary and proper to amend and vary the same, which will best be done by revoking thereof, and by establishing new laws: Now know all men by these presents, that, in pursuance of the said recited letters patent, and the powers and authorities thereby granted to the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, and now transferred unto, and vested in, the said United Company as aforesaid, they, the said United Company, by this present writing under their common seal, agreed to, and approved of, at and by a Court of Directors of the said Company, held at their house in Leadenhall-street, London, the twenty-fourth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, in the presence of the Chairman and Deputy Chairman thereof, have revoked and abrogated, and do hereby revoke and abrogate, all and every the laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, made and established in and by the said instrument, bearing date the twenty-sixth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, such revocation and abrogation to take place from and immediately after the receipt and publication of these presents at the said island of St. Helena, by the Governor and Council of the said island of St. Helena; but so, nevertheless, as not to discharge, prejudice, or affect any proceedings then depending respecting any offence against the same laws before that time; but such proceedings shall be carried on and prosecuted, and the offenders punished, by virtue thereof, in the same manner as if the said laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, had remained in full force. And further, the said United Company have ordained, made, and established, and by these presents do ordain, make, and establish, the laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, hereinafter mentioned and set forth (which have been agreed to, and approved of, by and at the said Court of Directors, held as aforesaid) for the better government of slaves in the said island of St. Helena, and for their protection, and to prevent the increase of slavery in the said island; which said laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, shall take place, and be observed and obeyed, in the said island of St. Helena, and the territories and places thereunto belong-

ing, from and immediately after the receipt and publication of these presents by the Governor and Council of the said island, that is to say,

ARTICLE I.

Be it ordained and established, by the said United Company, by and under the powers and authorities contained in the said recited letters patent, transferred unto, and now vested in the said United Company as aforesaid : And it is hereby ordained and established, by and with the assent and agreement of the said Court of Directors, so held as aforesaid, that slaves, in the said island of St. Helena, shall work diligently in the business and labour in which they shall be employed, and shall be obedient to the lawful commands of, and behave themselves with respect to their masters and mistresses, and their families ; and shall not waste, damage, or injure the property of their masters and mistresses, but shall in all respects demean themselves as good and faithful servants.

Slaves to be diligent, obedient, and respectful, and to demean themselves as faithful servants.

ARTICLE II.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that masters and mistresses of slaves in the said island shall treat their slaves with kindness, and shall give them protection from injury, and supply them with sufficient, good, and wholesome provision, and with proper cloathing and lodging ; and, in sickness, with necessary medicines, care, and attention.

To be treated with kindness, and properly maintained.

ARTICLE III.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any slave or slaves shall run away, or absent themselves from the service of his, her, or their, masters and mistresses, or shall refuse to do, or wilfully neglect, the business upon which he, she, or they shall be employed, or shall not be diligent therein, or shall be turbulent, or refractory, get drunk, use abusive or insolent language, waste, damage, or injure the property of his, her, or their masters and

Masters allowed to correct slaves moderately for crimes and faults not exceeding twelve lashes.

mistresses, or otherwise be disorderly, or misbehave his, her, or themselves, it shall be lawful for the masters or mistresses of such slave or slaves to give, or cause, moderate correction to be given them, for their crimes and faults, not exceeding twelve lashes, with a cat of nine tails, and that so as not to wound, or do the said slaves bodily injury, and so that the said slaves be not corrected, as aforesaid, more than once for one offence.

ARTICLE IV.

For crimes and faults deserving greater punishment, to be carried before Justices of the Peace, and to be punished by their orders.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that in all cases where the master or mistress of any slave shall conceive the crime or fault committed by such slave to be of such enormity as to require more exemplary punishment than is hereinbefore allowed to be inflicted by such master or mistress, it shall and may be lawful for such master or mistress to cause such offending slave to be carried before the Governor, and any other Justice of the Peace of the said island of St. Helena, who are hereby authorized to hear and examine into every such complaint, and, by warrant under their hands, to direct such corporal punishment not extending to life or limb, as the crime or offence shall in their discretion, merit; after which punishment, inflicted by the order of the Justices as aforesaid, no farther or other punishment whatsoever shall be inflicted on such slave for the same offence, by any person or persons whomsoever, on pain of being proceeded against in the same manner as if such person had punished the said slave without authority, or had exceeded the punishment hereinbefore limited to be given by any master and mistress.

ARTICLE V.

Excess of punishment by proprietors of slaves to be considered as an assault and misdemeanor.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any proprietor of any slave, or any person employed or authorized by such proprietor, do or shall, on any pretence whatsoever, take upon himself or herself to inflict, or cause to be inflicted, on such slave or slaves as aforesaid, any heavier, greater, or other kind of punishment, than what is hereinbefore

limited and prescribed, or shall punish any slave without reasonable cause ; every such proprietor, or other person, shall be considered as guilty of an assault and misdemeanor, in like manner as if the same offence had been committed against a free person.

ARTICLE VI.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any proprietor of any slave or slaves shall not supply such slave or slaves with proper food, cloathing, lodging, medicine, and care, in sickness, or shall be guilty of any other violation of the regulations of these presents, it shall and may be lawful to and for such slave and slaves to complain to two Justices of the Peace of the said island, whereof the Governor for the time being shall be one, who are hereby authorized to hear and examine into every such complaint, and by warrant under their hands to order and direct such relief and redress to be given to the complainant as shall, in their discretion appear to be just ; and every person refusing or neglecting to comply with and perform such order, shall forfeit and pay the sum of forty shillings of lawful money of Great Britain, to be recovered as a debt, in the name of the Clerk of the Peace ; and, besides such relief and redress, if the offence committed by such proprietor shall be of such enormity as to require it, he shall also be fined by the said Justices, or shall at their discretion be prosecuted for the same at the quarter sessions.

Slaves to be redressed by Justices, if not properly maintained with provisions, &c. or if these regulations shall be violated.

ARTICLE VII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that all slaves, except those employed as household servants, shall be allowed Sunday to themselves, and shall not be required to work thereon for their masters.

Slaves, except household servants, not to be employed on Sundays.

ARTICLE VIII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that household slaves shall be

Household slaves to be spared as much

as reasonably may be on Sundays, and to be allowed, alternately, one Sunday in two to themselves.

spared from labour on Sundays, as much as reasonably may be consistent with the necessary business of the family they live in; and, unless in case of sickness in the family, or other necessity, shall be allowed one Sunday out of two to themselves, free from their ordinary week-day work; such allowance being made to them alternately, so that one half of the household slaves of a family may be always at home.

ARTICLE IX.

Not to carry wood on Sundays, either for themselves or masters.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that no slave shall be allowed to collect or carry wood on a Sunday, either for their masters or mistresses, or themselves, on pain of being punished by the order of two Justices of the Peace.

ARTICLE X.

To go to church, and be instructed on Sundays, when the Chaplain is to attend two hours for the purpose, besides the ordinary divine service.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that a certain portion of time (to be fixed by the Governor and Council), not less than two hours, on every Sunday, shall be set apart and appropriated for the slaves assembling in the churches of the said island; at which time the Chaplain of the island, or other clergyman officiating at such church for him, shall attend and instruct the said slaves in the Christian religion, and in the principles of morality; and the said Chaplain, and also the Justices of the Peace, and proprietors of slaves, shall use their best endeavours to induce slaves to attend the churches, to be so instructed; and also to attend Divine service on Sunday: and the said Chaplain shall also, without fee or reward, baptize and marry slaves when thereto required; and shall record such baptisms and marriages in a register to be kept for that purpose; and in case the Chaplain shall refuse to perform, or be remiss in the several matters aforesaid, he shall be admonished by the Governor and Council; and if, after admonition, he shall continue to neglect the same, his conduct shall be reported to the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

ARTICLE XI.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any person shall commit a rape upon a woman slave, or make an assault upon any woman slave, with an intent to commit a rape, such person, and all person and persons aiding and assisting therein, shall be prosecuted for the same, and liable to such pains, penalties, and punishments, as may be imposed or inflicted for the like offence according to the laws of England.

Rape, or attempt to commit a rape on a female slave, to be punished according to the laws of England.

ARTICLE XII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons shall hire out, or lend any female slave for the purpose of prostitution, or shall assist in the seduction of any female slave, such offence shall be considered as a misdemeanor, and shall be punished by indictment at the quarter sessions; and, besides a fine, or other punishment, if the Court in their discretion shall see fit, it shall and may be lawful for the Court to banish such person or persons from the island.

Lending, or hiring out a female slave; or seducing her to prostitution, punishable.

ARTICLE XIII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that before men and women slaves shall be allowed to cohabit together as man and wife, they shall have the consent, in writing, of their respective proprietors to their marriages, which consent shall be entered in a register to be kept for that purpose in the office of the Secretary to the Governor and Council; and if the said proprietors shall refuse their consent without reasonable cause, it shall be lawful to the Governor and Council to consider the same; and if they shall see fit, to license such marriage, which said consent or license shall be certified by the said Secretary to the Chaplain, who shall thereupon be authorized to marry the said slaves, and not otherwise.

Men and women slaves to be married, and not to be allowed to cohabit together till marriage.

ARTICLE XIV.

Children born of slaves to belong to the proprietor of the woman slave.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that all children born of slaves shall be the property of the person or persons to whom the woman slave shall belong at the time of the births of such children.

ARTICLE XV.

Male slave debauching a female married slave, both to be punished by Justices.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any male slave shall debauch and have carnal knowledge of any female married slave, during her marriage, not being his wife, and the parties shall be convicted thereof before two Justices of the Peace, both or either of the said parties so offending shall receive such corporal punishment, not extending to life or limb, as such Justices in their discretion shall see proper, and shall order by warrant under their hands.

ARTICLE XVI.

Proprietor of female married slaves, and others of superior degree to non-commissioned Officers, debauching female married slaves, to pay certain damages.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if the proprietor or master of any female married slave shall debauch and have carnal knowledge of such slave during her marriage, such proprietor or master shall forfeit and pay the sum of ten pounds; and if any other freeman, in an higher station of life than a labourer or a non-commissioned Officer, or common soldier, shall debauch and have carnal knowledge of any female married slave, such freeman shall forfeit and pay the sum of five pounds; which said respective sums of ten pounds and five pounds shall be recovered as debts, in the name of the Clerk of the Peace for the time being.

ARTICLE XVII.

What damage to be paid for the same offence by labourer, non-commissioned Officer, and soldier.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any labourer, non-commissioned Officer, or private soldier, shall debauch and have carnal knowledge of any female mar-

ried slave, such labourer, non-commissioned Officer, or private soldier, shall respectively forfeit and pay for every such offence a sum equal to one-fifth part of one year's earnings or pay; also to be recovered as a debt in the name of the Clerk of the Peace, and to be paid by monthly payments.

ARTICLE XVIII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that all persons (except proprietors of slaves, and persons authorized by them in respect of such moderate correction as aforesaid) who shall beat or ill treat slaves, shall be guilty of an assault and misdemeanor, and shall be punishable for the same by two or more Justices of the Peace, or by indictment at the quarter sessions.

Other persons besides proprietors punishable for beating and ill treating slaves.

ARTICLE XIX.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any slave or slaves shall wilfully damage or injure the property of the said United Company, or of any person or persons not being his master or mistress, or shall injure the public roads, or commit any other offence detrimental to society or the good government of the said island, he or they so offending shall be punished for the same by the order of Justices of the Peace, according to the nature of the injury, unless it shall appear that such damage or injury was done under the authority or by the connivance of the master or mistress of such slave or slaves; in which case the slave shall be slightly punished for the unlawful act, and the said master or mistress shall make good and pay the damage done, and moreover shall be punishable for the same by two or more Justices of the Peace, or by indictment at the quarter sessions.

Slaves damaging private property, public roads, &c. punishable.

Masters or mistresses authorizing or conniving thereat, also punishable.

ARTICLE XX.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that slaves shall be allowed to give evidence in all judicial proceedings, both civil and criminal, as well against free persons as

Slaves allowed to give evidence if found to understand and be impressed with obligation (an oath).

against one another, provided they shall be found to understand the obligation of an oath, and to believe in a Supreme Being; and all such witnesses shall be sworn in such manner and form as shall be most binding upon their consciences; and if they shall forswear themselves, shall be liable to all the penalties and punishments of perjury.

ARTICLE XXI.

Slaves not allowed to have dogs.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that slaves shall not be allowed to have dogs to follow them, without licence from their masters or mistresses, on pain of punishment for the same by such moderate correction as the master or mistresses are allowed to give, as hereinbefore is mentioned, or of such greater punishment as the Justices shall see proper, according to the circumstances of the offence.

ARTICLE XXII.

Sheep or cattle not to be impounded, unless a white person be present.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that no sheep or cattle, shall be impounded by slaves upon the commons, unless a white person shall be present.

ARTICLE XXIII.

Not to row or sail round Banks's Battery in the night.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that slaves employed to fish in the sea shall not row or sail their boats by Banks's Battery in the night, on pain of being severely punished, unless such sailing or rowing shall be licensed by the Governor, or unless, upon investigating the circumstances, the Governor and Council shall see fit to dispense with and excuse the same, which it shall be lawful for them to do as they shall see fit.

ARTICLE XXIV.

Punishable for carrying fire about the town without being properly covered.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that slaves shall not carry fire about the town, unless the same shall be properly covered or secured, on pain of being punished by their masters and mistresses, as hereinbefore is men-

tioned, or of greater punishment by the Justices as hereinbefore is also mentioned.

ARTICLE XXV.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that slaves committed to gaol, and confined for criminal offences, shall be considered as taken from their master or mistresses for the public good; and, in such case, the master or mistress of such slave shall have a reasonable satisfaction for the earnings of such slave during confinement, after deducting the expense of maintenance; such satisfaction to be settled by the Governor and Council: and in case such slave should be condemned, and suffer death for the crime of which he or she shall be convicted, the value of such slave to be estimated by a jury, to be summoned before the Governor for that purpose, shall be paid to the master or mistress of such slave, which said several payments shall be made by the parish officers, and shall be raised and assessed upon the inhabitants, as other parish rates shall be raised and assessed: Provided that if the Justices before whom the trial of such slave shall be had shall certify, by writing under their hands, that, from the evidence given on such trial, there shall be reason to suspect that the master or mistress of such slave encouraged or connived at the offence committed by such slave, then and in such case such payments as aforesaid, or any of them, shall not be made to such master or mistress as aforesaid.

Proprietors to be paid for slaves convicted and executed for criminal offences, and for their loss of time in prison, unless suspected of encouraging or conniving at their offences.

ARTICLE XXVI.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons shall harbour or conceal any slave who shall absent him or herself from his or her master or mistress's service, for more than the space of forty-eight hours, without the license in writing of such master or mistress for such absence, every free person so harbouring or concealing such slave shall pay to the master or mistress of such slave any sum to be awarded by two Justices of the Peace (of whom the Governor for the time being shall

Persons harbouring or concealing slaves more than forty-eight hours, to make a certain payment to the proprietor.

be one) not exceeding twenty shillings per day, to be recovered, in default of payment, by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of such person or persons, by warrant from any Justice, together with the cost of such distress and sale; and every slave so harbouring or concealing another slave, shall be punished at the discretion of any two or more Justice or Justices: provided that if it shall appear that there was lawful or reasonable cause for such harbouring or concealment, it shall be lawful for any two Justices to excuse the same, and remit the payment and punishment aforesaid.

And one slave
harbouring
another to be
punished.

ARTICLE XXVII.

Slaves to have
the enjoyment
of, and be pro-
tected in re-
spect to such
property as
they shall law-
fully acquire.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that in case any slaves, by and with the consent or permission of the person or persons to whom they shall belong, shall acquire any property, by labouring for themselves, or by rearing stock, or by gifts, or other lawful ways or means, the property so acquired shall belong to such slaves, to be applied as they shall think fit; and such slaves shall be fully protected by the law in respect of such property.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

No person to
purchase from
or sell to slaves,
unless such
slaves shall be
licensed in
writing.

And, in order to prevent theft and frauds by slaves, be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall not be lawful for any person whatsoever to make any purchase from or sale to any slave, unless such slave shall have license in writing from his master or mistress for buying or selling; and any free person so buying from or selling to a slave, not being possessed of such license, shall be fined by the Justices before whom the fact shall be proved.

ARTICLE XXIX.

Correcting
slaves for com-
plaining to Jus-
tices, an of-
fence.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that in case any proprietor of a slave shall correct or ill treat, or cause such slave to be corrected or ill treated, for or on account of such slave having made any complaint to the Justices, such correction

or ill treatment shall be considered as an assault and misdemeanor, and shall be proceeded against before the Justices, or by indictment at the quarter sessions.

ARTICLE XXX.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any slave or slaves shall make any frivolous and unfounded complaint, and thereby occasion slander, trouble, expense, or loss of time, to his, her, or their master or mistress, it shall and may be lawful to and for the Justices before whom such frivolous and unfounded complaint shall be made, to order such slave or slaves to be punished for the same, as they in their discretions shall think fit.

Slaves making frivolous and unfounded complaints, to be punished.

ARTICLE XXXI.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the offences, matters, and things, mentioned and arising from these laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, and all disputes and differences between slaves in the said island, shall be cognizable by two or more Justices of the Peace of the said island, of whom the Governor for the time being shall be one, and it shall and may be lawful to and for such Justices to punish slaves for their offences and misbehaviour, as herein directed, not extending to life or limb; and also either to fine any master or mistress, or other free person, for any offence against or any ill treatment of slaves, or to order such offences to be prosecuted at the quarter sessions, provided that the said Justices shall not assess any fine exceeding forty shillings; and provided also, that no person shall be proceeded against both by fine and by prosecution at the quarter sessions,

Offences against these regulations cognizable by Justices of the Peace, who may punish slaves, and fine masters and mistresses, not exceeding forty shillings, or order prosecutions at quarter sessions.

ARTICLE XXXII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the fines and forfeitures hereby created or authorized, in case of non-payment, shall be recovered by distress

Fines and forfeitures to be recovered by distress and sale

and sale of the stock, goods, and chattels of the offending parties, together with the costs of such distress and sale, giving five days' notice before any such sale shall be made.

ARTICLE XXXIII.

Fines, &c. not appropriated, to be paid to Governor and Council, and kept as a separate fund for future appropriation to public use.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the fines, forfeitures, penalties, and payments, hereby created and authorized, and not otherwise appropriated, shall be paid to the Governor and Council of the said island of St. Helena, to be kept as a separate fund, subject to such future appropriation as shall be made thereof, for some public use, by the Court of Directors of the said United Company; the state of which fund shall from time to time be transmitted to the said Court of Directors.

ARTICLE XXXIV.

Proceedings concerning slaves to be recorded, and sent home to Directors.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that the Justices of the Peace shall cause a correct record and state of all complaints, examinations of witnesses, orders, and other proceedings before them, and also before the Court of Quarter Sessions, any way relating to slaves, to be made and kept by the Clerk of the Peace, or some other officer, whereto all the Justices shall from time to time resort at their free wills and pleasures; and the same shall be regularly transmitted to the Court of Directors of the said United Company for their information.

ARTICLE XXXV.

Power for Court of Quarter Sessions to order slaves grossly ill treated by proprietors to be sold.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that in case of proprietors of slaves being found guilty at the quarter sessions of ill treating slaves, or any gross violation of these regulations, or any of them, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Court in their discretion to order such ill treated slave to be sold, for the purpose of removing such slave from the government of the person guilty of such ill treatment or gross violation; but nevertheless, the price at which

such slave shall be sold, after deducting the charges of sale, shall be paid to the said proprietor.

ARTICLE XXXVI.

And be it further ordained and established, that in all cases of gross or bad treatment of slaves by free people, or any other gross violation or opposition to the provisions of these presents for the relief and redress of slaves, the Governor and Council shall point out and particularly represent the same to the Court of Directors of the said United Company for their consideration, first giving notice of their intention in that respect to the party against whom such representation shall be made, in order that they may have an opportunity of answering the same; and in all cases of such representations, the said Governor and Council shall be restrained from renewing or granting any lease, or shewing any other indulgence to such party, until the pleasure of the said Court of Directors shall be declared thereon.

Gross ill treatment of slaves to be reported to Directors, and no indulgence to be shown to offenders without Court's orders.

ARTICLE XXXVII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for any person or persons to manumise and set free any slave or slaves, to him, her, or them belonging, by deed or will, so that such deed or will be entered or registered in the Secretary's office in the said island, and so that the party so manumising or setting free such slave, or the executors or administrators of a deceased person, or some other responsible person on their behalf, to be approved by the parish officers for the time being, do and shall give bond to the parish officers, in the penalty of one hundred and sixty pounds, to maintain such slave or slaves, in case he, she, or they shall become burthensome to the parish; and until such security shall be given, the deed or instrument declaring such setting free shall have no effect.

The mode in which slaves may be made free.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority

To provide for slaves disabled by sickness, lameness, age, or infirmities; and not suffer them to want, or be troublesome to others.

aforesaid, that no proprietor of any slave or slaves shall, under pretence of manumission, or otherwise, discard or turn away any slave or slaves on account or by reason of such slave or slaves being rendered incapable of labour or service, by means of sickness, lameness, age, or infirmity; but every such proprietor shall keep, maintain, and provide them with wholesome food, and decent comfortable clothing and lodging, and not suffer them to wander about, and become burthensome to others; but in all such cases it shall and may be lawful for two or more Justices to order such relief and redress as shall be necessary, and also to punish the offender by fine, or by prosecution at the quarter sessions.

ARTICLE XXXIX.

No new slaves to be imported; and every person harbouring or entertaining a new slave to pay fifty pounds, and also the expenses of sending him to the place to which he belongs.

And, in order to prevent the increase of slavery at the said island, be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the publication of these presents as aforesaid, no new slave shall be imported at the said island of St. Helena, for the purpose of being left there, or shall be suffered to remain there on any account or pretence whatsoever, without the express license and permission, in writing, of the Court of Directors of the said United Company, whether such slave shall be obtained by any person upon the said island by purchase, or gift, or otherwise howsoever; and every person receiving, harbouring, or entertaining, any such slave or slaves without such license or permission as aforesaid, shall forfeit and pay the sum of fifty pounds for every slave so received, harboured, or entertained, to be recovered as a debt in the name of the Clerk of the Peace; and moreover such slave shall, by order of the Governor and Council, be sent from the island of St. Helena to the place to which he belongs, by and at the expense of the person so receiving, harbouring, or entertaining, such slave or slaves.

ARTICLE XL.

Provided always nevertheless, and be it further ordained and

established, by the authority aforesaid, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to remit, vary, or alter, any criminal offence of which any person shall be guilty against the laws of England; but all such offences shall be tried and punished in like manner as if these laws, rules, and ordinances had not been made: provided that no person shall receive punishment by the laws of England and also by these laws, rules, and ordinances, for one and the same offence.

These regulations not to remit or vary the laws of England.

ARTICLE XLI.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that the Governor and Council of the said island shall yearly, on the first day of January in every year, or within ten days then next following, appoint two persons, who shall be called Visitors of Slaves for that year, and who shall four times in every year, and oftener if occasion shall require, visit and examine into the state of slaves, and the manner of their being fed, clothed, and treated; and shall examine the complaints both of slaves and their proprietors; and shall from time to time make due report to the Governor and Council of what they shall find amiss, that proper proceedings may be taken for the correction thereof.

Governor and Council to appoint visitors of slaves, who are to visit four times, or oftener, every year, to examine and report on complaints.

ARTICLE XLII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that when any slave shall die, the master or mistress of such slave shall forthwith, and not exceeding the space of twelve hours at the most, and before the burial of such slave, cause notice to be given of such death to the Governor of the said island, who shall forthwith inform the said visitors, or one of them, thereof; and by such visitors, or one of them, or some other person, shall cause inquiry to be made into the cause of such death, and all circumstances relating thereto; which shall be reported to the said Governor and Council, in order that proper proceedings may forthwith be taken, if it

Notice to be given to Governor of death of slaves, that the cause of such death may be inquired into.

shall appear that such death arose from violence or ill treatment.

Given under the common seal of the said United Company, the twenty-fourth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two.

Signed, by order of the Court of Directors,

THOS. MORTON, Sec.

(K.)

Copy of Colonel Wilks's Letter to the Honourable Court of Directors on the Lands and Tenures of St. Helena, dated 19th September, 1815.

1. IN my dispatch, No. 3, of this year, I stated an intention of submitting to your Honourable Court some observations on the tenures of land in this island, and it is the object of this letter to fulfil that intention.

2. In first contemplating the policy observed on this important subject by your Honourable Court, since the year 1681, I concluded that local circumstances had demonstrated its expediency, and consequently directed my attention exclusively to the best modes of executing your orders.

3. At an early period of my residence at this place, considerable doubts were obtruded on my mind regarding the nature and effects of that policy, and two years of close observation have suggested the duty of submitting, with the greatest deference, to your Honourable Court, the expediency of revising the general tenor of your orders on that subject, which appear to have been founded on expectations, shewn by the experience of one hundred and thirty-two years, to have been greatly misunderstood.

4. A short abstract of facts will best illustrate the observations which I wish to submit.

5. When the island was retaken from the Dutch, and resigned by charter to the East-India Company, some of the old and some new planters were sent out, in the five succeeding years, with orders for allotments of land, twenty acres "rough and smooth" in the leeward, and forty in the windward side of the island, to be "conveyed to them, "their heirs and assigns, for ever, under the Company's common "seal," under two principal conditions: first, that they should be trained to arms, and do such suit and service as might be appointed from time to time: and second, that they should not have the power to alienate their lands, unless they had lived upon and improved them by planting for the space of four years.

1672.

6. The explanatory laws and regulations transmitted from England in 1679-80, "to the intent that every person may "know the duty required of him, and the rights belonging to "him," contain no farther provisions material to the subject of this letter, excepting that the suit and service required was explained to consist in mounting guard in turn for the security of the island.

7. In 1683, this regulated tour of military duty was commuted for a pecuniary payment of two shillings an acre, without however exempting the landholders from being trained to arms for the eventual defence of the island. This commutation of two shillings an acre was, in 1687, reduced to one shilling; but if the only direction to this effect which I have been able to discover be the sole order for this reduction, the sanction would seem to be of very equivocal authority. The following are the words: "Make every order we gave you, by the Sir Thomas Grantham and since, to be entirely obeyed, except the half land-tax that we laid upon the plantations of two shillings per acre." Although in a statement of facts the history of this reduction could not with propriety be omitted, it

Court's Letter,
31st August,
1687; Par. 6.

is far from my intention to suggest any practical question regarding a prescriptive tenure of one hundred and twenty-eight years.

8. The Company, however, had scarcely established these wise tenures, when they resolved to depart from them, for so early as
 March 14th, 1681. 1681 we find notice of a decision which had been announced *for some years before*, to “dispose of no
 “more land, but to retain the whole and remainder for the use
 August 1st, 1683. “of the Company;” and in 1683 they assigned their reasons in the following words: “We do
 “further order, that no more lands be given in fee to any person
 “whatsoever, for any consideration whatsoever, being resolved to
 “retain the inheritance of all the remainder of the land to the
 “Company’s own use, which we hope in time, after so vast a dis-
 “bursement, may come to be of that value as to make them or
 “their successors some reparation for the great charge they
 “have been at.” Such is the expectation in which this policy was founded; and it remains to enquire in what manner it has been accomplished.

9. The prohibition was accompanied by a permission to lease lands for sixty years in parcels of twenty acres each, but in 1709 the duration of a lease was restricted to twenty-one years. In 1794, one hundred and thirteen years after the first formal prohibition, the rent of all the lands let in conformity to this resolution, amounted to the sum of £518. 0s. 8d. In that year, considerable farms, reserved until that period for the maintenance of the Company’s slaves and to provide for the Government table, were ordered to be let by auction, and yet the highest rent ever received on account of the whole of the lease lands amounted to £844. 17s. 11d.* I have not thought it of sufficient importance to diminish these amounts by deducting from the receipts for lease lands the monies payable on account of

* The highest rent for free and lease lands which appears on the books is in the year 1804, viz. 2205½ free, and 3768¾ lease, £955: 3s. 2d. Deduct one shilling an acre for the free, and there remains for the rent of the lease lands, £844. 17s. 11d.

leases on lives, a tenure nearly equivalent to freehold, introduced by Governor Pyke early in the last century. Perhaps the main consideration will come out with still greater force by stating, that the highest amount ever received in one year for rents and revenue of every kind arising from free and lease lands, including ground rents of houses 1813. in James's Town, was £1084. 10s. 8d. The inference appears to be sufficiently plain, that the expectations on which this policy was founded have been greatly disappointed, and consequently that no consideration regarding any possible amount of land rent ought to interfere with any modifications in the tenure of land, which may tend to improve the general condition of the island. But even the pecuniary consideration, if deemed of sufficient importance to enter into more general views, need in no respect obstruct them; as any amount which it may be determined to levy, might be assessed by a jury of the inhabitants themselves in the form of a proportionate tax. The Court has, however, itself disclaimed the intention of attaching importance to any amount of rent, inasmuch, as in the very orders for letting by auction the lands of 1794, they express themselves in the following terms: "You will also explain to the planters, that our intentions are not so much directed to increase the rents, as to render every acre of ground that is capable of cultivation as productive as the nature of the soil will admit; an object which must undoubtedly be of the highest importance to all parties concerned."

10. Improvement is thus declared to be the primary object, and rent a subordinate consideration, by a wise and liberal decision of your Honourable Court.

11. From the earliest periods until the present day, a continued repetition of injunctions to improvement, and disappointment at its slow progress, may be traced on the records. The lights of modern investigation seem to have demonstrated, that the melioration of tenures, and the removal of restrictions, constitute in themselves the best, if not the only certain means of improvement; and if this truth has been slow of development in

other parts of the world, an opposite practice at this place cannot justly excite our surprise. The defects and restrictions of an imperfect tenure were expected to be remedied by fresh restrictions and penal enactments. The objects of these restrictions have been chiefly four, which I shall briefly notice in their order, three being of ancient standing, and one of modern date:—first, a restriction in the quantity of land; second, a penal obligation to plant with trees a certain proportion of that land; third, penal obligations to fence it; and fourth, penal obligations to extend cultivation.

12. First: Restrictions in the quantity of land.—When the early settlers were required to perform their tour of watch and ward, it was made a condition, that one white man, able to bear arms, should be maintained on each twenty acres, and this condition was not abrogated when, in 1683, the landholders were absolved from this regular tour of duty. Engrossment of lands, however, began at an early period to be complained of; and the departure of settlers, (obviously the result of other causes), began to be attributed to this engrossment.

8th December, 1714. Governor Pyke observes, “that small landholders
“had been drawn in by *subtle engrossers* to sell their
“lease, (which is looked on here equal to an estate), and so
“there were some who had obtained great quantities of land,
“whilst the sellers were forced to go off the island in beg-
“gary:” the remedy which he proposed for the evil was, a new
restriction with regard to quantity, and the occupation of land
in small parcels by new settlers to be sent out from England for
that purpose. It would seem that the “subtle engrossers” found
the extension of their farms an inducement to prolong their re-
sidence; but if the possession of twenty acres was not an
object worthy the attention of the old settlers, it is not very
obvious by what means the same object was to be rendered
more attractive to the new. A marked distinction appears to
have been originally drawn between the occupiers of land in
fee and by lease; the former, the Company declare, “they
“would always esteem and honour as the first occupants and
“gentlemen freeholders of the island, for such it was hoped

“ their heirs would prove to be, and to have estates sufficient to maintain that title, and defend their country on horseback ;” and this expectation was seriously stated at a period when these *mounted gentlemen free-holders* were restricted to the possession of twenty acres of land. These examples are cited for no indecorous purpose, and with the single intention of exhibiting the erroneous views originally entertained, and long continued, on this important subject. The controversy, long and strenuously maintained in England, on the subject of the best size of farms, appears to have established the conviction in most enlightened minds, that this, like other objects of human pursuit, may best be left to the free decision of the agriculturist himself. The maximum, however, of three hundred acres, lately ordered by your Honourable Court for this place, leaves sufficient scope for any probable views of the present period.

Court's Letter,
1st August,
1689.

13. Second: A penal obligation to plant with trees a certain proportion of that land.—It may be unnecessary to detain your Honourable Court on this subject further than to observe, that the experience of our own country, and the very nature of the thing abundantly shew, that this expensive process can only be expected from men of capital, who can afford to sink a sum of money to be returned to their heirs; and that even, in the more rapid vegetation of this climate, where a tree favourably situated becomes fit for the axe in from twenty-four to thirty years, it is really a most unreasonable expectation, that planting should be undertaken by a tenant of twenty-one years, however strong his hope of the renewal of his lease: but over-run as every part of this island has been with goats and wild sheep, whose ravages cannot be restrained, excepting by such fences as the most opulent farmer cannot afford to build, the planting of trees would have been the most ruinous speculation that any farmer could have undertaken; and, if duly represented, I am satisfied that the expectation never could have been entertained by your Honourable Court.

14. Since the adoption of measures for the extermination of

these destructive animals, most of the landholders possessing any capital have shewn their conviction, that no speculation on this island can be more beneficial to their children than a well-considered plantation of forest trees. This proposition, however, is not without its exceptions. In the very great variety of climates and soils to be found on this little spot, one of our most intelligent landholders, Captain Sampson, has hitherto been entirely unsuccessful, having lost ninety-three in every hundred pineasters, planted in a situation apparently favourable; a circumstance which farther evinces the impolicy of indiscriminate penal regulation. But although moderate success be very general, it will be nugatory to expect either here or elsewhere, that any penal obligation should succeed in compelling men to expend capital, who, so far from possessing it, are pressed for the means of their daily subsistence.

15. Third: Penal obligations to fence the land.—This is perhaps the only ground of penal restriction that is defensible even by specious arguments, so far as regards the exterior ring fence. The obligation to fence may be defended on the ground of its necessity, not only to mark the property of the individual, but to protect the property of others from trespass; yet in Great Britain, and in every other country, the laws of trespass have been found a sufficient protection, and this essential improvement in agriculture has kept exact pace with other improvements, and above all, with the possession of capital, for capital is assuredly as necessary to agriculture as to commerce. As crops or pasture requiring and deserving protection have been prepared, and capital has been admitted, self-interest has taught the wisdom of securing them; and perhaps the example of St. Helena for the last one hundred and fifty years is itself one of the best proofs that penal restriction is not the right way of effecting this object. That good fences are highly desirable for individual and general benefit cannot be questioned, and that this improvement will keep pace with others is demonstrated (as far as the future is demonstrable) from the experience of other countries; but it is yet to be proved that the policy which is good for the rest of the world is bad for St. Helena.

16. Fourth : Penal obligations to extend cultivation.—English and Scotch leases at one time prescribed not only the quantity to be cultivated, but entered into minute details regarding the order and routine of cultivation. In the latter country a singular instance has recently been related to me, by one of the advocates who conducted the cause, of a proprietor letting an estate to a tenant and his heirs, and binding his own heirs and the heirs of his tenant to a particular routine of management. In the progress of knowledge and improvement, the lands so regulated became a waste, compared with all around them; and the descendent of the original tenant was, by a decision at law, relieved from the restrictions, on proof that they were not beneficial to the descendent of the person imposing them. The principle of this decision is as instructive as is the modern practice of Scotland, to have no covenant in a lease except the proportion to be left in pasture at its termination. That intelligent people have learned, that individuals, as well as Governments, may legislate too much.

17. The covenants of your new leases in this island bind the lessees as well to increasing plantations of trees, as to an increase of the quantity of land in culture, under penalties annually increasing, and terminating in the forfeiture of the lands.

18. Without conceding the proposition, that all interference with the interior management of another person's concerns is both unprofitable and unwise, it is admitted that such a system, rigorously enforced, may accomplish certain specific objects in a certain degree: the lessee will (if he can) perform the condition of increasing culture, rather than forfeit the sole means of his subsistence. A system of forced culture may for a time cause the supply to exceed the demand, and may also for a time cause a diminution of prices below the level of a profitable culture; but if with capital and means to cultivate ten acres, a farmer be compelled to attempt twenty before his means have reached that level, it is obvious that the interests of good husbandry will not be promoted: and if the state of

the market should prove such, that he must sell for sixpence what cost him sixpence to raise, he will have good reason to complain of his benevolent legislators for their care and misconception of his interests.

19. It is fit that I should, in this place, render an account of my recorded concurrence in these regulations after my arrival at this place, and before my succession to the Government.

20. A perusal of the records at the India House had shewn me that those regulations were framed in the spirit of the early policy which has been described, and were calculated to enforce the incessant injunctions which had hitherto proved ineffectual. The utility of such injunctions did not appear to have been drawn into question, or to have induced explanation or remonstrance from the local authorities, who seem, on the contrary, to have themselves generally recommended most of the successive restrictions. Local experience seemed to have established remarkable exceptions to those general principles which are elsewhere approved ; and I could not presume to oppose theory to an apparently uninterrupted course of practical observation. These records appeared to describe a race of men impenetrable by the motives which influence human conduct in other countries ; and the persons designated in your early records as drones, seemed to have transmitted an hereditary taint to their descendants.

21. After a close and scrupulous examination of two years, I have found nothing either in local circumstances, or in personal character, that can, in my humble judgment, render necessary a departure from those principles which apply to other places, and to the rest of mankind. The vices and the virtues are of the same description and in the same proportion as those of other small societies : and whatever may have been the character of other times, it is not on light grounds, or on loose observation, that I declare my conscientious belief, that indolence and laziness are not at this period characteristic of the general habits of the people. I believe that the inhabitants of

St. Helena are as industrious, and may as safely be trusted to pursue their own interests, in their own way, as the inhabitants of other countries ; and that miscalculations and absurdities in this pursuit are about as common in other places as in St. Helena. The exceptions to a fair degree of industry are two considerable landholders, and a similar proportion of the inferior orders ; a proportion not greater, perhaps not so large, as may be traced in other communities.

22. It remains that I should attempt to trace the causes which have really retarded improvement, and the probable means by which it may be promoted and secured.

23. At the head of the causes which have retarded improvement is the defective nature of the leasehold tenures. The first leases were for sixty years ; and the letter of Governor Pyke, already quoted, written twenty-seven years before the expiration of the first of them, shews that the inhabitants had begun to consider *those long leases equal to an estate*. Shortly before this period, orders had been received for restricting the duration of future leases to twenty-one years. The subsequent penal enactments and threats of forfeiture were alternately contrasted by directions to relieve the alarms of the inhabitants, and make them “ quiet and easy in the possession of their property.” It has been affirmed, and I believe correctly, that there is not one leasehold estate in the island that has not repeatedly incurred the penalty of forfeiture.* When penal obligations are such, that in a long series of years, and under the guidance of various shades of personal character in Directors and Governors, those penalties have never been enforced, a suspicion might well have arisen, that there was something inexpedient or unreasonable in the conditions themselves, some of which, in the above-quoted general letter, are designated as stipulations impossible to be fulfilled. The very variety and frequent repetition of restrictions have indeed, in

1714.

Letter from
England, 10th
January, 1745,
Par. 13.

* General Letter to England, 10th July, 1805.

more cases than one, led to something nearly approaching to breaches of public faith, certainly unintentional, but arising from these varied and modified repetitions. One example of this nature occurs in the subject of the letter last quoted. A Proclamation, dated 25th February, 1805, assures the inhabitants, that any future lessee who shall rear at his own option, *on his leasehold or freehold land, as he shall find most convenient or advantageous to himself*, sixty trees for every ten acres of his lease lands, shall be *entitled to a renewal* of his lease on similar conditions; the specific penalty of failure being one pound sterling for every acre of lease land, to be paid at the expiration of the lease; together with the obligation to raise an additional quantity during the period of the renewed lease: and this alteration in the previous conditions was approved by your Honourable Court in the eleventh paragraph of your letter, dated the 6th November, 1805. By the regulations of July 1813, not only the free and lease lands are made separately liable, but the penalty is changed from one pound an acre to other penalties, and to eventual forfeiture of the land; and instead of being *entitled to a renewal*, the lessee is declared to be only *entitled to a preference* over all other persons; and I recollect having myself argued against any more specific pledge in the case of future renewals, not being aware that a specific pledge had already been given greatly at variance with the tenour of those regulations. Inadvertency in the observance of public pledges was as little calculated as the alternation of threats and forgiveness to inspire confidence. The Lords Proprietors did not, like English landlords, provide farm-buildings for their tenants; and the precariousness of the tenure forbade a prudent tenant, when he possessed the means, to erect expensive buildings on land not his own. Governor Beatson distinctly saw this impediment to improvement, and is understood to have recommended, to your Honourable Court, the establishment of small freeholds of five or six acres, as nuclei to leasehold estates, on which the tenant might with confidence expend his capital in the erection of buildings. The relief would have effected something, but not enough: the contiguous leasehold land would still have been the object

for which the capital would be expended, and that leasehold land would still have been a precarious possession. The proposed relief may perhaps be viewed rather as a palliative than a remedy. A fact of no remote date illustrates the nature and effects of these precarious tenures. In 1805, an individual possessing some capital was desirous to become the possessor of the present waste, called New Ground, attracted by its convenient situation for a dwelling, and the possibility of improving the land at a considerable expense ; but, as he was too prudent to expend his capital on a precarious tenure, he ventured to try whether your Honourable Court would relax from your former determination, and petitioned for a free grant. Your Honourable Court replied to this application, that you were *not prepared to decide* upon the expediency of alienating more land ; and the ground in question remains to this day an unprofitable waste. The reserve of this decision, however, shews it to have been pronounced under the influence of doubt ; and that doubt has been my principal encouragement in bringing the general subject under your serious consideration.

24. The great object of improving this island is not only the attainment of a full supply for your shipping, but the reasonable prospect which would be afforded of an eventual diminution in the expenses of maintaining it ; an object, in comparison with which, a rent of a few hundreds a year sinks into real insignificance. There is no other purpose for which the present leasehold tenures are continued than the attainment of such rent ; and it can scarcely be necessary to adduce farther arguments to shew, that improvement is, and has been, fatally retarded, by holding up *in terrorem* the insecurity of possession ; and can only be effectually promoted and secured, by reverting to the wise principles of your original tenures, by the removal of all restrictions that interfere with interior management, and by converting a precarious possession into a fixed and permanent right, irrevocable for any but public purposes, and that by a sworn appraisement.

25. Although the main impediments to improvement have

arisen from this insecurity and interference, three collateral causes have materially aggravated their effects.

26. The orders of 1772, which, by a perverted interpretation, caused the eventual sale of food from your stores to the planters at one third its actual cost, could not fail to operate as a prohibition to improvement: and if the reform of this abuse had been the single merit of Governor Beatson's administration, he would be entitled on that ground alone to the permanent approbation of your Honourable Court. If defective industry was induced by such a perversion of indulgence, or if that industry was directed to other channels, the cessation of the cause has certainly removed the effect.

27. The insufficiency of labouring population has also, from an early period, been an important obstacle to improvement; and that obstacle was aggravated in all former times previously to the approaching close of Governor Patton's administration, by the necessity of calling for the labour of the planters' slaves for the erection and repair of fortifications and other public works. Previously to the year 1708, the sum paid by Government to a planter, for the labour of his slave, was two shillings a day, which may, without the risk of exaggeration, be considered equal to six shillings at the present time. Governor Roberts was fully sensible of the mischievous effects of applying the labour of the landholders to purposes foreign to those of husbandry, and reduced the price to one shilling and sixpence, equivalent to four and sixpence at the present period. A remuneration for the services of a labourer so large as either of these sums, when backed by the purposes of the requisition, and influenced by the authority making the request, constituted altogether too powerful an inducement to neglect the cultivation of the lands, and produced probably most of those characters designated as drones, prone, as the rest of mankind, to the least laborious mode of pursuing their own interests, indolent from causes foreign to their own character, and chiefly referable to an unavoidable compliance with the wishes of their superiors.

28. The introduction of Chinese labourers would appear from Mr. Brooke's work* to have been suggested by Governor Patton. This most wise and efficacious measure was ordered by your Honourable Court in 1808; and when the expected number shall be completed, which was commissioned at the close of Governor Beatson's administration, every impediment arising from want of labour will be effectually removed. The want of capital will remain. The debts and incumbrances already existing on free lands have contributed, together with other causes, to prevent the planters availing themselves of the loans on that security which have been sanctioned by your Honourable Court; but even defective capital, however vital an impediment, will gradually be removed, if, with other meliorations, men be permitted to manage their own affairs in their own way, and to shape their improvements to the scale of their capital, instead of having these objects enforced on one uniform scale by superior authority.

29. Even the Company's farm, although necessary in so small a spot to prevent combinations injurious to the purchaser, might, under a mistaken guidance, become ruinous to interests far more essential to a full supply—the interests of the grower; and will always require the most delicate management to prevent its operating as a discouragement to the exertions of all the other farmers, by injudicious reductions of price below the level of a fair profit.

30. It has thus far been intended to shew, that the chief collateral impediments to improvement have ceased, or will soon cease to exist, and that insecurity of tenure, and interference of management, alone remain to be removed.

31. It might appear to your Honourable Court too sudden a contrast to a long continued policy to convert all the leasehold tenures unconditionally, and at once, into free, and to liberate them at once from all interference with regard to their interior management in planting or culture. That this latter liberation ought immediately, and at once to be effected, I cannot per-

* History of St. Helena, first edition, page 311.

suade myself to entertain a doubt. That the conversion of leasehold into free, or rather a tenure of perpetual quit rent, should be made the gradual reward of good management, might seem to offer the recommendation of gradual and deliberate transition from a defective to a better tenure. I would only plead for the immediate establishment of the claim, convertible into a right on the performance of the conditions, by means independent of the changing opinions of your successive Governments. And if I were to name the conditions, they should be, that, “ on the erection of good and sufficient buildings, proportioned to the nature and size of the farm, for the shelter of horses, cattle, pigs and sheep, and the custody of potatoes, or such other crops as it is fitted to produce ; and on the erection of a good and sufficient exterior fence, and the entire extirpation of the blackberry ; every leasehold tenant shall be entitled of right to demand a free tenure, subject only to a perpetual quit rent of two shillings an acre, the right to be tried by a jury empannelled after the manner of a special jury.”

32. Considering that the utmost diminution of rent on the conversion of the whole would be less than £500* a year : If I have succeeded in conveying any adequate impression of the vital importance of the measure (so far as any thing relating to this island can be deemed of importance), your Honourable Court will certainly not condescend to place so diminutive an amount in competition with weightier considerations. But if you should be of opinion that no sacrifice of rent, however trifling, should be incurred for the purpose of this improvement of tenures, the diminution may be compensated by such assessments as you may think proper to substitute. But conceiving, as I do, the improvement of tenures with the removal of restrictions to be the medium through which all prospective benefits are to be attained, I should deeply regret if a measure

* Highest rent of lease lands, (vide para. 9), £844 17s. 11d. Deduct 2s. an acre for 3768½ acres of lease lands converted into free, £376. 16s. 9d. Total diminution. £468 1s. 2d.

so important were to be clogged with any difficulties arising from conflicting interests.

33. I have not approached this subject with any very sanguine expectations. The suggestion of loss, however small, for the attainment of advantage, however large, when proposed at a period of public difficulty, is calculated to conciliate less of favour than immediate economy, however questionable in its consequences : and independently of these inauspicious considerations, I have not expected that a recommendation to depart from the policy of a century and a half, should, at the first glance, be favourably received, or that the reasoning which I have submitted should produce a sudden conviction on every mind. That the inferences themselves, however feebly maintained on this occasion, will eventually be established, I have the firmest hope and the most rooted conviction ; and whatever may be the immediate result of this attempt for the improvement of your interest, I close the subject with the consciousness of having endeavoured to perform an important duty.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) M. WILKS.

St. Helena, 19th September, 1815.

THE END.

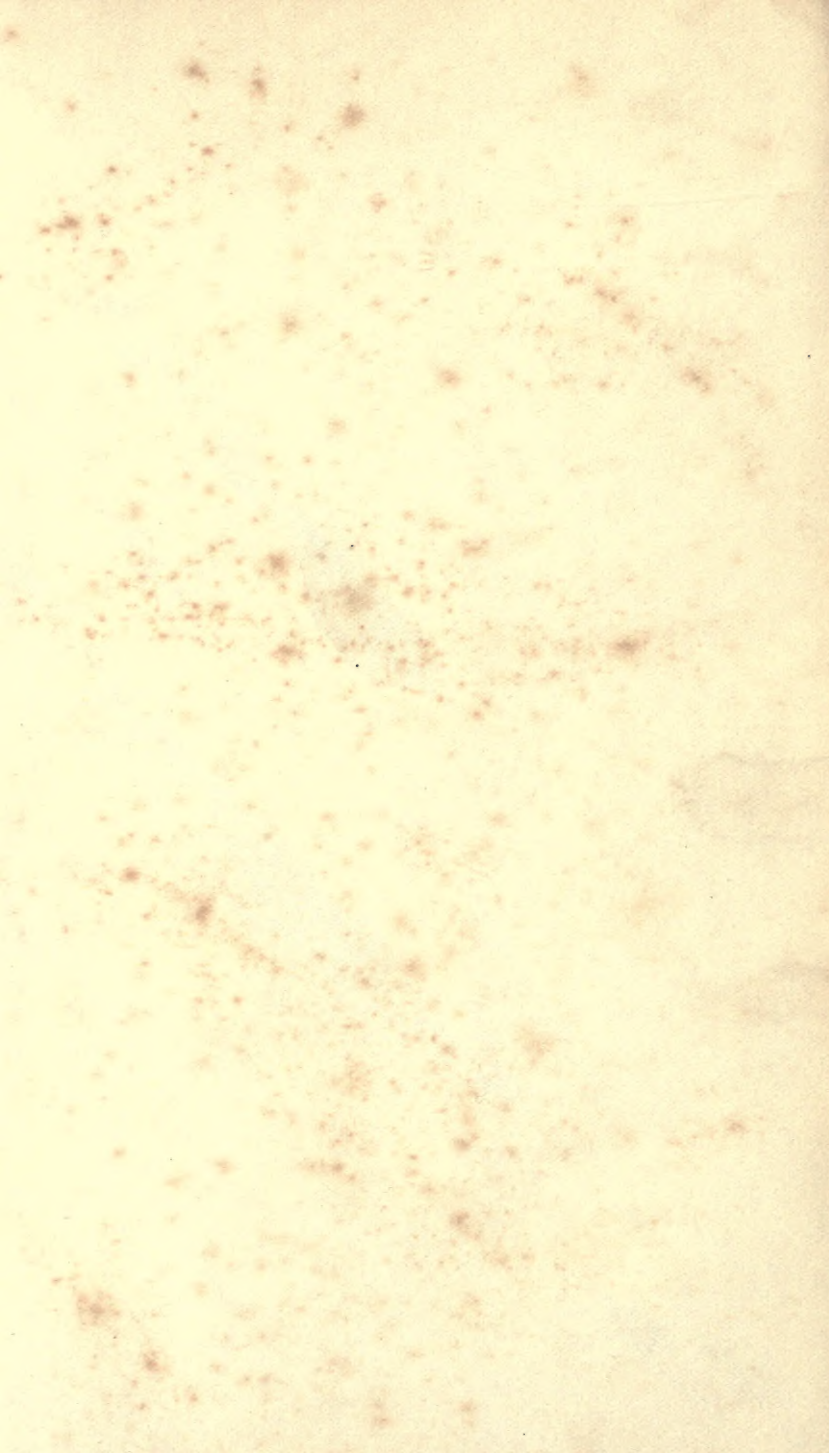
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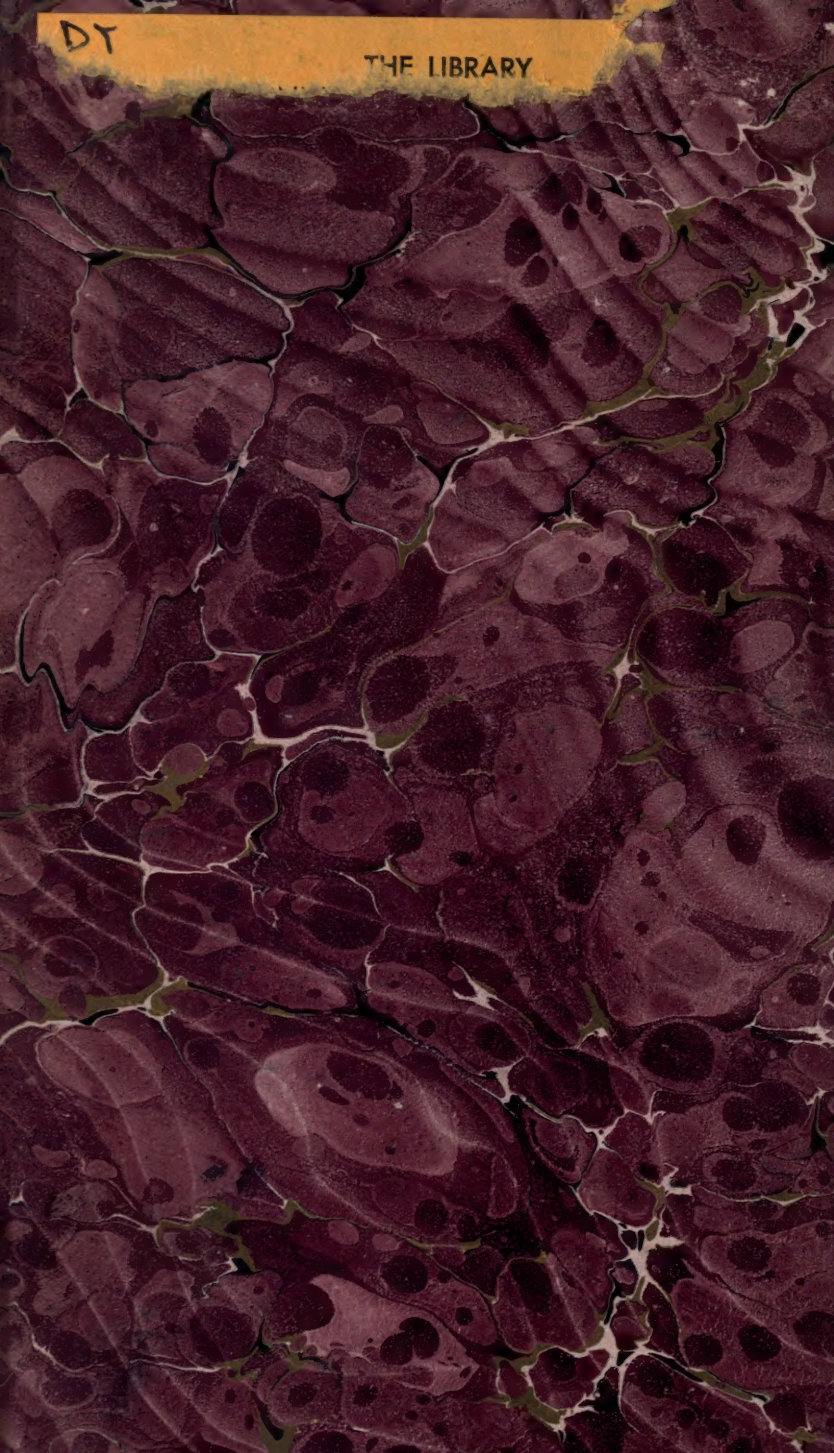






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